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### The deadly parallel:

# Peekskill, Germany – or Bernau, N.Y.?

By Heinz Pol

IT WAS a balmy spring evening in Bernau, a little town about 30 miles north of Berlin, Germany, more than 20 years ago. The Weimar Republic seemed to be secure and strong, and new Reichstag elections were on.

I was helping Georg Bernhard in his camapign as candidate of the German Democratic Party. Bernhard, editor of the Vossische Zeitung in Berlin, was not popular with certain groups who taught that Germany was the greatest country in the world, and that everyone opposed to their way of thinking was a Jew or a Red and un-German, and must be dealt with accordingly.

**VETERANS MOBILIZED:** These parties and groups, led by such men as Hitler and Hugenberg (the latter now an adviser to the British occupation authorities and a member of the Ruhr Industrial Committee) announced that Bernhard could not speak in Bernau, stronghold of the 100% Germans.

Officials of the Democratic Party at Bernau told the local police that stormtroopers, the Stahlhelm and other war veterans' organizations had concentrated in and around the town. The police assured party officials that everything would be under control.

When Bernhard's car arrived, two police cars joined us. The streets were lined with jeering members of the Hitler-Hugenberg private armies. They continued to jeer at us in the big meeting hall.

When the police opened the doors an hour before the meeting, they found 200 husky young men already seated in the front rows. One Democratic Party official protested. The police officer in charge reassured him: "Don't worry, these boys are only friends of the son of the proprietor of the meeting hall — just kids having a little fun.

**THE "FUN" STARTS:** The kids began enjoying themselves a little later, interrupting the speakers, singing war songs, throwing paper swastikas and molesting anyone who dared approve the speakers' remarks. Even amid cries like, "Next time we'll cut your throat before you open your mouth, you dirty Jew," Bernhard was able to finish his speech.

Escorted by five policemen who had stood idly by during the meeting, we went to our car. All four tires had been slashed, and we had to wait for replacements. Then the police captain saluted and said: "I hope you'll agree that my men did an excellent job protecting you. We'll take you to the gates of the town and leave you there; then you'll have the straight road back to Berlin."

**THE ROAD HOME:** The road was straight. So was the wire stretched across it about three miles outside of Bernau. We would all have been killed, but our driver had seen some suspicious-looking people along the road and instinctively slowed down.

When we left the car to cut the wire, we were showered with stones and rocks from both sides of the road. We couldn't see much. Bernhard's glasses were broken, his head gashed. My shoulder was injured.

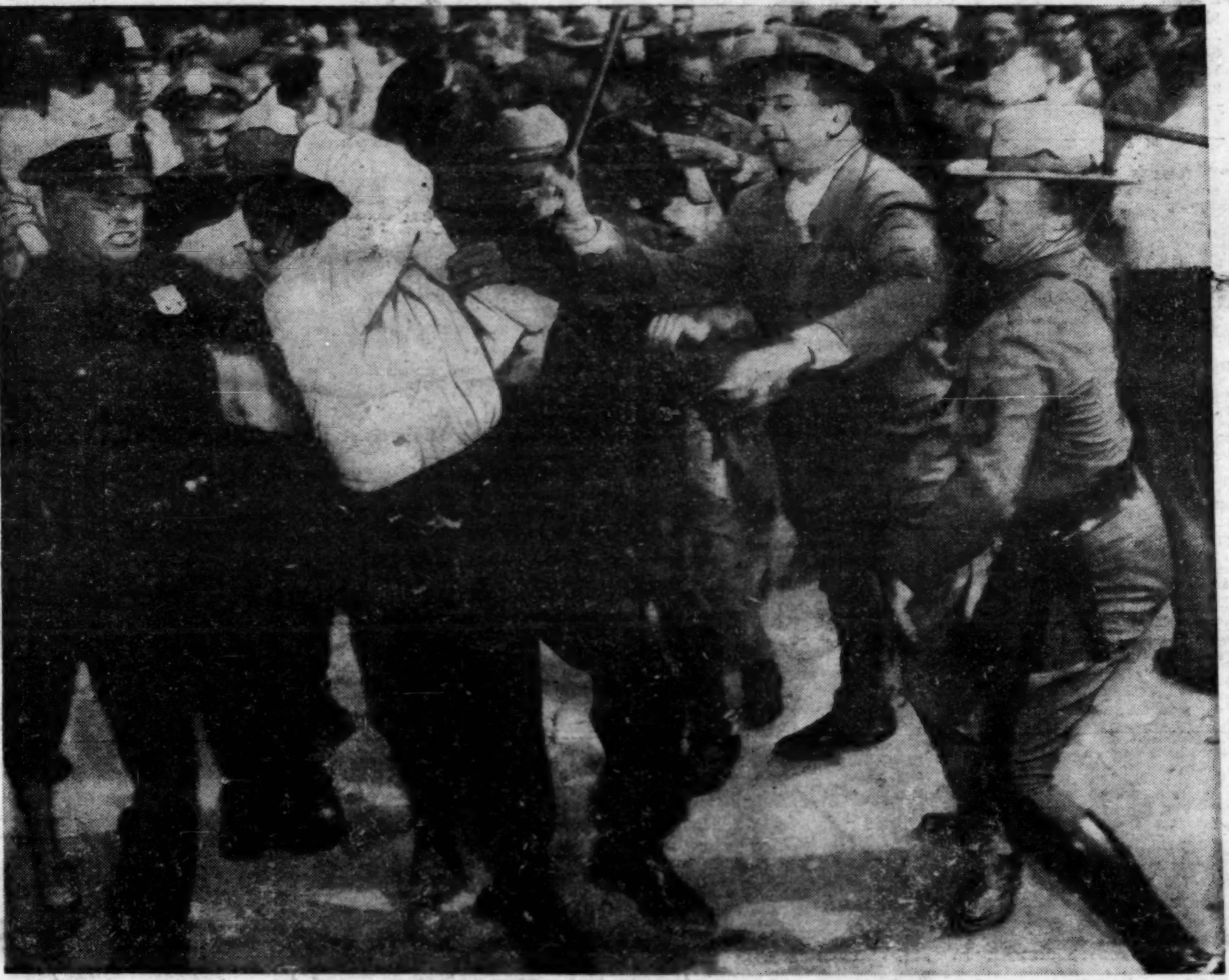
We heard an order snapped: "Finish those skunks fast and without noise." We ran for cover behind the trees. Fortunately a truck came by.

**TOO CONTROVERSIAL:** Our attackers disappeared with our car. The truck took us to the nearest hospital. Five days later we were able to continue the campaign. But we were not allowed to return to Bernau because the City Council, on the recommendation of the chief of police, decided that Bernhard was a controversial figure who "presented a threat to the peaceful minds of the population."

Bernhard's car was found in a ditch near Bernau, completely smashed. The police said they had no fingerprints but were sure the car had been stolen and wrecked by communists.

**LONG, LONG AGO:** All that happened long ago, of course. It couldn't possibly happen again, in America. Only an eccentric like me, with a warped European mind, who should have stayed in Germany and been beaten to a pulp by stormtroopers, can wonder whether Bernau lies a few miles north of New York and Peekskill a few miles north of Berlin, or vice versa.

*HEINZ POL was assistant editor of the "Vossische Zeitung" in Berlin for ten years before the Nazis seized power. In 1933 he fled Germany and later came to the U.S. He has written several books about European politics and economics.*



**Peekskill: The Spirit of 1949**

Eugene Bullard, first U. S. Negro pilot in World War II, decorated five times for bravery, being clubbed by the stormtroopers of Westchester County. His crime: He spat back at a hoodlum who had spat at him.

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# THE MAILBAG

### The Robeson story

BALTIMORE, MD.

Now that the Catholic and Jewish war veterans have marched on peaceful Robeson, I suggest that the same veterans march through the South to arrest any Ku Kluxers who take innocent people out of their homes and beat them and who burn the symbol of Christ. **Dena Coplis**

●

### Black John Brown

DUBUQUE, IOWA

Speaking of displaced persons, what about the displaced Negro? No one offers him a home or job, not even a friendly smile. I am one of thousands of displaced Negroes from the rural South. I have traveled this country over—I have seen plenty and I am grieved at what I have seen. They say Paul Robeson want to be a black Stalin but in my opinion he is a black John Brown. They say he want to climb up over the broken backs of the Negroes—well look, the white people have climb up over the backs of Negroes. The wealth of this country was created by the poor people of Eastern Europe and the blood sweat and the broke backs of black slaves. Yes I will agree with Paul Robeson until all exploitation of man by man has been abolished.

**Henry Henderson**
**Ill. Central R.R. Ex. Gang No. 2**

●

### Reader's indigestion

LONG BEACH, CALIF.

We all enjoyed Bill Cahn's poem in a recent issue. I was reminded of something I saw in the **Reader's Digest** of April, 1949, (I picked it up off a pile of discarded stuff to get it out of circulation). A quotation on p. 136 from Christopher Morley says: "Read, every day, something no one else is reading. Think, every day, something no one else would be silly enough to do. It is bad for the mind to be always part of a unanimity."

On the cover of the same issue it says: "World's largest circulation: Over 15 million copies monthly." **Malvina Reynolds**

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### Out of the vacuum

CHICAGO, ILL.

Esther Poller calls your readers ignorant and your paper filthy. As a fellow-Chicagoan I wonder where the vacuum is that she lives in?

She asks you to go to Russia, and I suggest that someone paint her skin dark brown and send her to any southern state; or give her a Jewish name and let her try to get into the better hotels or the summer resorts in Wisconsin and elsewhere. She would soon learn who the "hypocrites" are: those who talk democracy and imitate Hitler; or those, like your readers, who believe in a true democracy for all. She must be a Herald-American subscriber! **M. Johnson**

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### The big lie

LOC ANGELES, CALIF.

I subscribe to two progressive weekly publications, NATIONAL GUARDIAN and In Fact. In view of the evidence these two papers present to indict big business as the arch enemy of the working men, it has astonished me that my fellow workers will not accept your evidence as valid truth.

I recently read George Seldes' Facts and Fascism and came across the most likely reason that this is so. Seldes quotes Hitler as follows:

> **"The size of the lie is a definite factor in causing it to be believed because the vast masses of a nation are in the depths of their hearts more easily deceived than they are consciously and intentionally bad.**
>
> **"The primitive simplicity of their minds renders them more easy victims of a big lie than a small one, because they themselves often tell little lies but would be ashamed to tell big ones."**

We, the people, have been told such colossal lies by native fascists for such a long time that the truth we read in GUARDIAN is greeted with mistrust as being "too radical" or "too unreliable." **D. C.**

●

### Transcontinental hat

HOLLYWOOD, CALIF.

You guys are getting out the best news-magazine in the country today. My hat is off to you.

**Bob Ellis,**
**West Coast Editor, Ebony**

●

### No talk of war

PRAGUE, CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Since the papers here are too full of important news, like getting in the harvest and increasing industrial production—no talk of war at all—it is a bit difficult to get a picture of what is going on at home. The GUARDIAN makes up for this lack very well, and I hope you keep growing and reaching the people at home with the message of peace and a decent world. **Ben Wainfeld**

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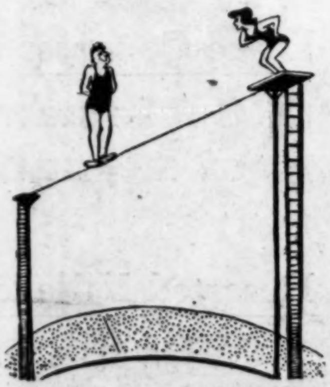
### Pointer for Pegler

JERSEYVILLE, ILL.

To Westbrook Pegler: Sometime you might tell your deluded readers how many union men and women died to defend the country in which you are permitted to live. Then you might, but likely will not, read the war record of your brand of publicity hunters.

In my home there grew up a young man who did not come back alive. At the Battle of the Bulge two of my young friends were killed. None of them were killed by union men or Russians.

Since you presumably can read, or get someone to read to you, it would be a good idea to inform yourself before again making charges of undemocratic procedure on the part of organized labor. This is a peculiar statement from you, as you have never shown any special liking for democracy. **Leslie Knight**



Przekroj, Krakow, Poland

**"Aren't you ashamed to let all these people see you so drunk?"**

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### Look to the future

BAYARD, N. M.

I am one of the rapidly increasing number of readers of your excellent paper in this vicinity. My friends and I thank you for helping us win, however slowly, recruits to the progressive way of thinking, and we look to the future hopefully. **Minnie Fishman**

●

### This week's slogan

ALBANY, N. Y.

How's this for a slogan: "No American home should be without a GUARDIAN." Pass it along. **Jacob Ziegler**

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### Snake's belly dept.

EDMOND, OKLA.

An AP dispatch states that Moscow zoo has received a Mississippi alligator by air lift. If you are in cahoots with Stalin as some people have hinted, why not suggest the reptile be named Rankin. **Leon McDuff**

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### Fresh ink

ELMHURST, N. Y.

Thank you for the breath of fresh air in print. We at home read it from cover to cover. It is indeed a pleasure to find a paper putting human rights before property rights. **Jerry Adler**

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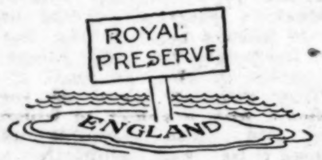
### Let the King live

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

The article by Ian Jefferson was interesting and "cute," but really, it was of minor importance.

I agree that Kings, etc., are outdated. But most Englishmen believe in their tradition of royalty and I don't see that it accomplished much to solve the problems of our day to devote so much space to a really unimportant problem. **Henry H. Lipson**



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### Those two sides

LINDEN, N. J.

Most of us progressives are looking for true reporting and objective analysis in the GUARDIAN. We don't blame you for trying to see the best in the Communist countries, as their worst aspects are exaggerated by the other papers. However, we want to feel that the GUARDIAN is watchful and critical of all defects of all countries, no matter which side of the cold war we are on. If we want a one-sided picture, we can get it in the Daily Worker, an excellent paper. **Mrs. M. Feldman**

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### A dirty shame

JOPLIN, MONT.

Got your welcome paper, and sure like it just swell.

Yes, corruption is getting worse every year, it's really down to a dirty shame, but there is not much we few can do about it either, as long as people don't wake up, and take interest in our government. The money class runs away with the whole country. It sure is a pity. **Berger Johnson**

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### Peter and Paul too

ALTO MICH.

The money that is being paid in by people under social security is being spent by the government and replaced by government bonds. When these bonds mature they must be paid by the taxpayer. In doing that the worker who has had the social security payments withheld from his pay envelope must, through taxation, again contribute to the payment of his S. S. At the same time, the person who has not been under S. S. must by taxes pay for the payments of the S. S. benefits. That is certainly a new version of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Both Peter and Paul are being robbed to pay Paul. **Ray Matthews**

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### The 1% and the 80%

BEREA, OHIO

In a book on psychosomatic medicine, "Mind and Body" by Dr. Flanders Dunbar, I believe she said 80% of the people are mentally ill (need a psychiatrist). If 80% are ill mentally, we are trying to make people adjust to an impossible world. What makes our society irrational? Most of God's resources are owned by less than 1% of the population. Political institutions represent the 1% and not the people. This must be dramatized to the people and as the depression hits them they will understand. **Vivian Wilson**

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### Classified progressives

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

I do hope that in time our splendid GUARDIAN will regularly feature a classified ad section to bring together progressive-minded individuals. As one seeking a congenial traveling companion, I surely realize the necessity for such a service to be offered by this publication.

In the meantime, I hope this letter finds space in The Mailbag columns so that I may contact within our ranks a young lady (or two) who has a car, is an experienced driver, and is interested in traveling south early next year.

**Corinne Wagner**
**716 Ocean Parkway**
**Brooklyn 30, N. Y.**

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### Last warning

TUCSON, ARIZ.

People so gayly talk about the third world war. I wish someone would call it the war of extinction. If we do go to war with Russia it surely will be extinction for the human race. Maybe this name will remind people what war will really be like. **Lillian Kaplan**

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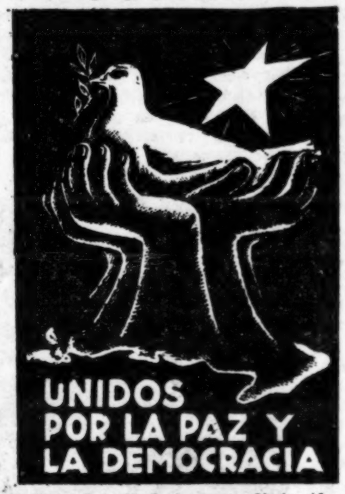
## *Jennings Perry*

# The protest down under

MEXICO CITY

MEXICO was a good place for the American Continental Congress for Peace because of its traditions, conditions and plans for the future. In the beginning, the Mayas considered war a nuisance. "We can find no hint of war or military maneuvers in Maya art or architecture," Stuart Chase writes in his book on Mexico, concluding, "As pacifists, apparently, they reached the zenith of Amerindian culture."

Thoughtful modern Mexicans think with the same sense. Cried aging, poet-philosopher Dr. Enrique Gonzalez Martinez in opening the Mexico City conference: "No mental reservation, no suspicion, no political sectarianism, social or religious, can expel from the depths of conscience the yearning for lasting and perfect peace."



Former President Cardenas, mentor of the Revolutionary Party in power in Mexico and considered, especially since Mexico took over its oil resources during his term in office, "the grand liberal" throughout the Latin American countries, also linked his support of the congress to "the voice of the conscience of the world, calling its own peoples to rise above their differences of philosophical creed and political belief, to repudiate the idea of a third world war."

MEXICO wants peace because the peso is falling, because many of its people need bread and more need medicine, because it has work more important than war to do, and because it is a proud, tolerant country unwilling to be led or driven by a golden chain into another nation's follies. Everything in Mexico that is mechanized is U. S. American: the Mexicans intend to continue the operation of their own mind.

In his campaign for literacy and more literacy, President Aleman declares the greatest need of his country to be schools. The country's famed artist Diego Rivera, whose 50 years of magnificent creation currently is the subject of a comprehensive exposition at the National Palace of Fine Arts, has never missed an opportunity to depict the anguish of working mankind in the iron grip of wars that consume the resources and the labor of the race.

In Mexico today the visitor from the north finds a gracious reprieve from the fevers and acrimonies of the Cold War which at home press upon him day in and day out. The Mexicans still can talk of peace without gritting their teeth—and indeed, for a people who, by standards north of the border, could count so much to groan about, their capacity for ready laughter and simple good will is a national blessing. Only the most insensate beggars in the streets and the bankers behind the windows of their clubs seem never to find anything worth a smile.

LOOKING to the future, the thoughtful Mexican in the schools or in the government finds his natural aversion to the possibility of war sharpened by a keen concern for the fulfilment of his own social revolution. The long-promised redistribution of the land has never been completed, the long-projected advancements in agriculture, conservation, educational facilities and community services—though in progress—have decades to go before substantial realization. It is noteworthy that the ardor of the Mexican people for their New Deal has persisted with greater tenacity than the ardor of the depression-stirred generation in the U. S. which was going "to make America over."

Accordingly, these contemporary Mexicans are not afraid of social change: they are resentful of preventable calamities—like wars—which arrest social change. Moreover, their democracy is fresh and worshipful and, being still in the stream of it, they are impatient with all theories of force which imply the insufficiency of free debate and free election to the best direction of human affairs.

They are determined to make Mexico over, with U. S. aid if it is forthcoming, without it if they must. Meanwhile, they have no relish at all for a truculent U. S. world policy which seems to threaten the peace that makes so much sense to them.

## *Peace congress in Mexico*

# 1,000 delegates from 23 states ask an end to cold war

**By Willard Young**

MEXICO CITY

THE Arena Mexico, a dark, drab, rather flea-bitten stadium for prize fights, wrestling matches and basketball games, was brightened last week with a new destiny: more than 1,000 delegates from 20 Latin-American countries, the United States, Canada and the exiled Republic of Spain crowded it to attend the week-long sessions of the American Continental Congress for Peace.

As with all other peace congresses held in the Western world, this one took place in a swirl of denunciations and bitter attacks, including a U.S. State Department declaration that it was "Moscow-directed" and charges by Mexico's own corrupt press that its secret function was to establish a North American replica of the old Communist International.

**PRIDE AND DIGNITY:** But against this dark background the little stadium glowed with pride, dignity and quiet determination. The corridor from the street was freshly whitewashed and decorated with palm fronds; from the girders hung six-foot models of Picasso's famed Dove of Peace; everywhere were bright banners with the Congress slogan: Ganaremos la paz si luchamos por ella—We shall win peace if we struggle for it.

The speech of any delegate was an answer to the raucous clamor raised against the gathering. Typical were the remarks at the opening session of Jose Manuel Fortuny of El Salvador:

"The people of my country have lost more than 20,000 dead in the struggle against tryanny. But we do not seek just any peace. We want peace with dignity, with justice, for all men and women regardless of race, color or nationality, and with equality of opportunity for all. We fought not for two, three or four liberties, duly written down, signed and sealed with due solemnity. We have fought and we shall continue to fight for one single liberty without restrictions We have come from El Salvador to join the ever-growing ranks of the people, who have the strength to impose peace and, must use that strength."

**DR. ENRIQUE GONZALES MARTINEZ**

*He led the partisans of peace*

**200 U.S. VOICES:** From the U.S. were 200 delegates, headed by Dr. Linus Pauling, scientist, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, and O. John Rogge, attorney. Awaited at the end of the week was Paul Robeson, whose victory at Peekskill has excited all Latin America. But not represented were the Hollywood Ten, whose delegate, Alvah Bessie, was denied permission to attend by U. S. Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

The Mexican government placed no obstacle in the way of any delegate, and vigorously defended the right of peace adherents to gather in accordance with Mexican traditions of free speech and assembly, but it did nothing to provide suitable quarters for the Congress.

Ex-President Lazaro Cardenas, who served as a vice-president of the Congress, did not attend in person but sent a letter of support. "The people," he wrote, "are worried because regional pacts and military alliances are being negotiated outside the framework of the United Nations before any peace treaties have liquidated the last war." He deplored the "hysterical regression" from the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the United Nations which, he said, made all Latin America "a victim of the cold war."

**OROZCO, MAN OF PEACE:** A shocked hush struck the Congress when news came of the sudden death of Jose Clemente Orozco of a heart attack on Wednesday. One of Mexico's greatest artists, he had always been on the side of the people. But Diego Rivera, another of Mexico's great artists, dispelled some of the gloom with a eulogy in which he said: "Jose Orozco is not dead. He was primarily a fighter for peace from the day he was first able to hold a brush. He was born in Mexico but he belonged to humanity. His work continues to shame the warmakers."

As Congress sessions went on, Orozco's body lay in state in the Fine Arts Theater which was decorated with one of his finest anti-war murals.

**DIVERGENT VIEWS:** Although the Congress was under attack as "Moscow-directed," many divergent views were expressed within the framework of a united front for peace. Domingo Villamil, Cuban jurist and Catholic theologian, blasted "warmongers" but added that "the peace-seeking peoples do not want the imposition of either of the two economic-social regimes today sharing the civilized world."

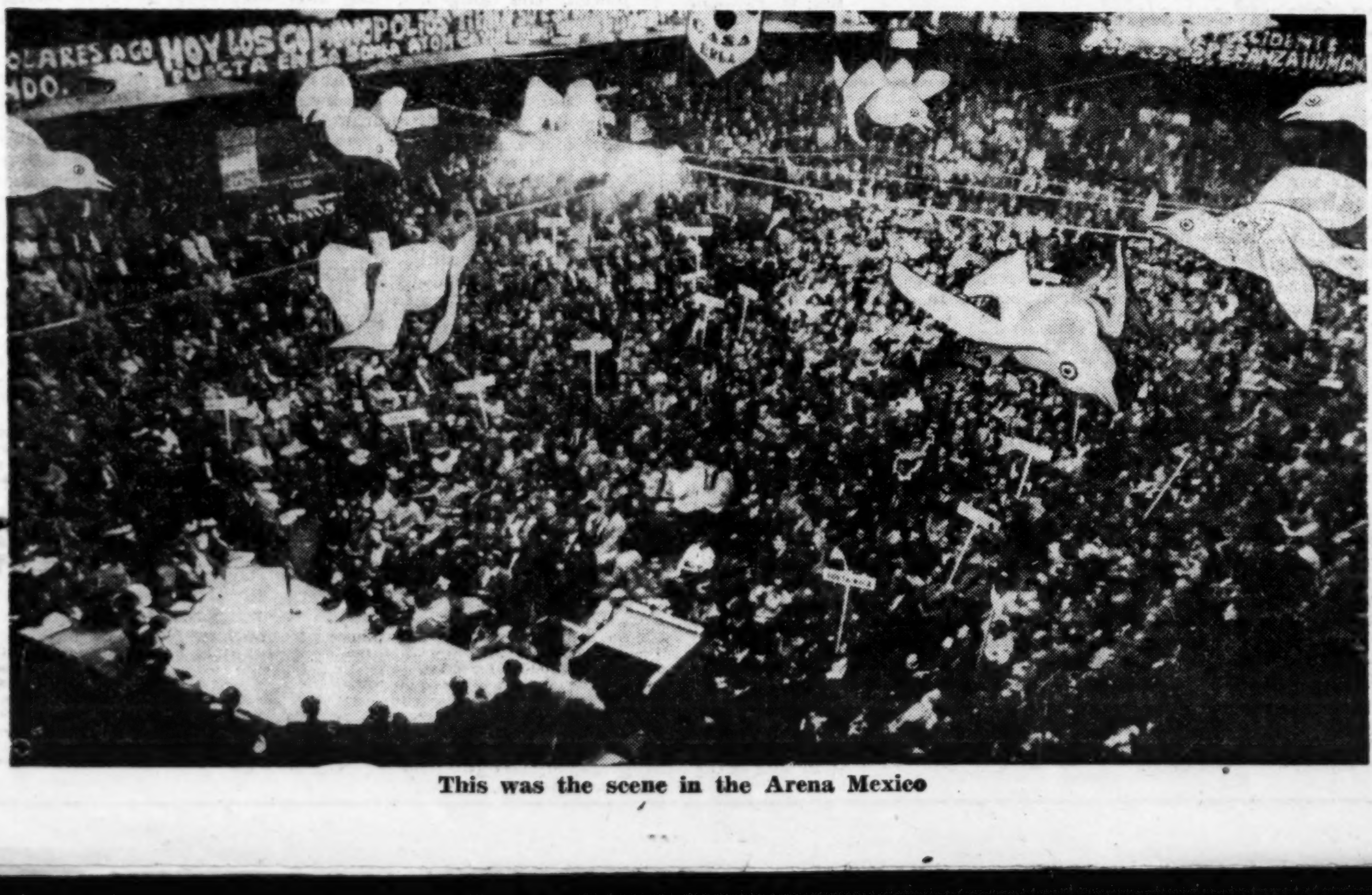
Rogge, former U.S. Assistant Attorney General, had a prepared speech in which he was critical of some phases of Soviet policy. But on Thursday, when he served as chairman of Congress sessions, he denied a New York **Times** report that he had been by-passed as a speaker because of the criticism. His speech, he said, was being typed and translated; when it was ready he would tell the Congress "about our vanishing civil liberties in the United States."

**WARS HURT THE POOR:** But a common denominator was represented by a delegation of men, women and children from Mexico's state of Toluca. They carried flowers and woven mats to the platform as gifts from their region. Their spokesman said: "Wars are always fought against the poor. We are poor. We ask the peoples of the continent to work for peace."

Vicente Lombardo Toledano, chief of the Confederation of Latin-American Labor, gave a solemn warning: "If agreement is not reached between the powers that were allied to defeat fascism, war will come, and with it, catastrophe." But, he said, "it can be affirmed that there is no insoluble antagonisms in the field of scientific investigation, in artistic production, in the promotion of human well-being and happiness."

**TERROR OF NO AVAIL:** From at least two South American nations came reports of terror against supporters of the Congres. In Brazil 15 delegates were forcibly prevented from leaving the country. Margarita de Ponce, president of the Association of Women of Argentina, told reporters how 100.000 women, denied the use of halls, gathered in the open streets of the university city of La Plata to elect their delegates and stood firm against repeated charges of foot and mounted police. Thirty-five delegates came from Argentina.

Presiding over proceedings as a whole was Dr. Enrique Gonzalez Martinez, dean of Mexican literature.



This was the scene in the Arena Mexico

## The delegate from Michoacan

MEXICO CITY

IN a balcony overlooking the platform sat a group of farmers and their wives, the men clad in coarse white linen, sandal shod, the women in colorful blouses, full, woven skirts. Their placard told that they were a delegation from the mountainous State of Michoacan, the name of one of whose sons, Lazaro Cardenas, was heard often in the speeches of delegates.

Among them were Vicente Bautista and his wife, Berta Gloriano, Tarascan Indians, who had come from the town of Santa Fe de la Laguna, where 600 farmers and craftsmen live, some miles off the highway.

Why had they come? It seemed a meeting had been held in the town, a spontaneous affair in which Berta Gloriano, as a member of the League of Farming Women, took part. The town's meeting had collected money for five delegates.

What did the issue of international peace and war mean to them? Mexico was making progress. There was the school, and electric light. They had more land now than their fathers had 20 years ago. These things came with peace. In war, no government could listen to the people who needed land, schools, hospitals. They had no hospital in Santa Fe, yet, and no doctor lived in the town, but not far away, on the highway, there was a medical school and the people there helped them when they were sick. "We, Mexicans" — they paused, smiled, and repeated with with pride, "Mexicans—have much to do. With peace, everything is possible."

Berta Gloriano said: "You understand, señor, we are many in America. In all the lands of our Latin America, there are we."

### *The guilty ones*

In his message to the conference, Lazaro Cardenas said:

"While the reconquest of Spain by the people is regarded with official indifference, and the republican spirit of America thus is affronted, disagreements are occurring between those who were allied in the war. We are witnessing the rearming of the vanquished. We see again the enslavement of nations which fought for the annihilation of tyranny and the building of a lasting peace.

"This lack of respect for international principle on which agreement has in fact been reached implies a serious threat to collective security and prosperity. To fail to use all available methods to avoid a war would make us guilty of a criminal responsibility."

# ROUNDUP OF THE WEEK'S NEWS

## This is the story of Peekskill: the deadly parallel come home

*Peekskill cannot be a friendly town unless the people themselves are friendly. . . . One week out of every year should be designated as a "Be Kind to People" week. . . . People could be asked to say at least one kind word or do one good deed.*

Editorial written by Arlene Fitzpatrick, Peekskill High School student, published in the Peekskill Evening Star Aug. 20, 1949.

ON Aug. 22, the Peekskill **Evening Star** discussed the first Paul Robeson concert announced for the following Sunday at a local picnic grounds. The concert was to be sponsored by People's Artists and the benefits were to go to the Civil Rights Congress. The editorial said:

"The time for tolerant silence that signifies approval is running out. Peekskill wants no rallies that support iron curtains, concentration camps, blockades and NKVDs, no matter how masterful the decor, nor how sweet the music."

In the same issue a letter by Legionnaire Vincent Boyle, dated August 18, was prominently featured. It said: "I am not intimating violence in this case, but I believe that we should give this matter serious consideration. . . . If we of this area have not forgotten the war, then let us cooperate with the American Legion and similar veteran organizations and vehemently oppose their appearance."

All that week the editors of the **Star** beat the drums for a counter-demonstration. "I glory in their spunk," said Kiwani Paul Morris. On the day before the concert the **Star** grew frightened and in an editorial disclaimed any advocacy of violence. The fever could not be canceled out.

**FIRST PEEKSKILL:** On Saturday afternoon, Aug. 26, the wife of Jack Buhs, disabled veteran, had to carry bricks to help build their house. The town of Peekskill had voted to build the house for Jack Buhs with voluntary labor. But most of the Legionnaires and the members of the drum and bugle corps were elsewhere. They were preparing for the concert.

### Burning on the green

On his way to the picnic grounds in the evening Paul Robeson was turned back by word that a mob had taken over. In the field where he was to have sung, the mob had swept down on the isolated band of concert-goers who had managed to reach the area. They burned chairs, music, pamphlets. The lights went out and hand-to-hand fighting raged in the dark. Eight were sent to the hospital. Scores more were injured.

**AFTERMATH:** Early in the next week the veterans' organizations and the press absolved themselves of blame for the violence but credited themselves with a victory.

In Peekskill and surrounding towns, some men talked of the riot and were honestly ashamed. Others echoed the newspapers' mild reproaches for "the exuberant elements" but applauded the result. Still others continued to stone houses in nearby Mohegan, colonized by Jews and others, many of them progressives vacationing from New York. The **Star**, noting the mild disaffection and the honest shame, said in a box opposite the weather notice on page one: "Good afternoon. It is interesting to note the devious ways the pinks in the area are revealing themselves."

### The return of Robeson

This was the setting for Paul Robeson's announcement that he would come back to Peekskill the following Sunday, that if the police could not or would not protect those who came to hear him, trade union men would be on hand to keep the peace.

The Legion, the Catholic War Veterans, the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the Jewish War Veterans held emergency meetings. They planned another, bigger "parade." The excitement grew in meeting halls, in the press, in the bar rooms and pool rooms, in the diners and the drug stores, at crossroads and corners and in the homes.

**QUIET SUNDAY:** Peekskill is a quiet pleasant town. Its houses are set well back from the streets. Trees shade its lawns. On a Sunday morning few except churchgoers are seen in the street.

But on Sunday morning, Sept. 4, the residents of Peekskill were at their doors or on the street corners. Their faces, ordinarily friendly, had grown hard and solemn. They glared at each passing car as if an invasion threatened. Almost every house displayed a large American flag as if to ward off some menace. At gate after gate "no parking" signs, freshly printed for the occasion, served notice that here was no welcome. On banners strung from telegraph poles, on windshield stickers

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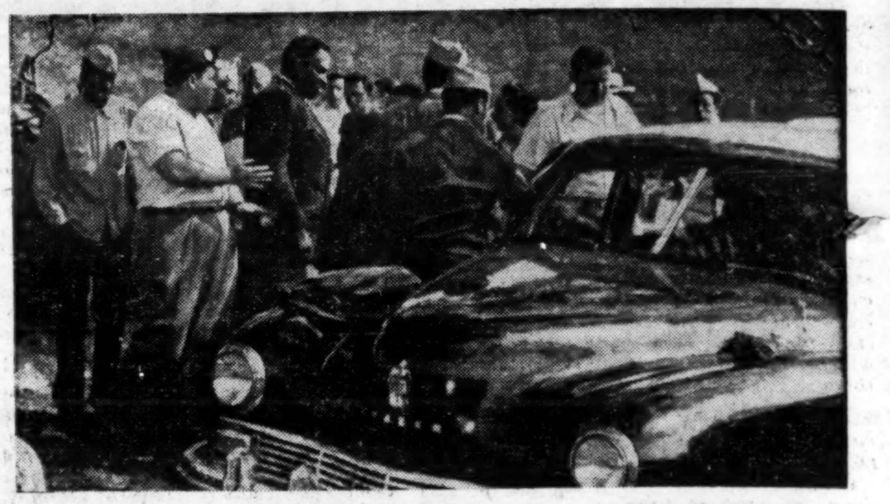
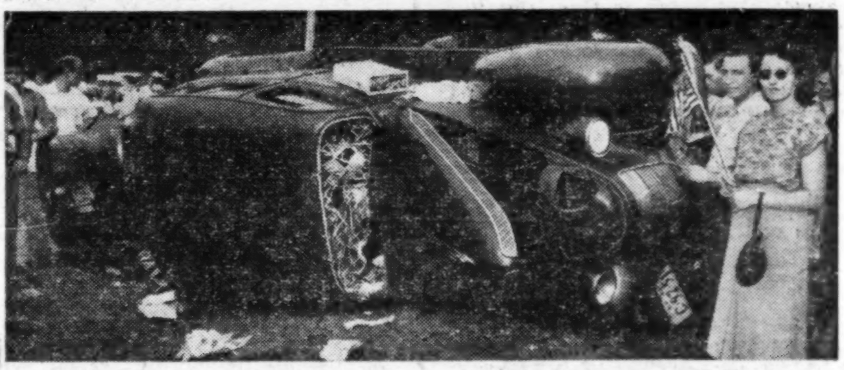


**Robeson's followers protect him as he returns to his waiting car.**



**This might have happened to Robeson's car if he'd had no protection.**

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*Report to readers on Peekskill*

## Stand up and be counted, or else...

THE deadly parallel between the happenings of the last two weeks at Peekskill, N. Y., and the happenings in Germany which paved the way for the advent of Hitler and nazism can no longer be a matter of dispute. The instance retold by Heinz Pol on the front page of this issue is only a small sample.

As there were more Bernaus, there will be more Peekskills, unless —

The "unless" must summon forth a wise, painstaking, uphill struggle by all thinking Americans—a struggle on the real issues which were basic to the incidents in Germany, which are basic to the incidents of Peekskill.

These issues are not simply matters of constitutional rights, they are deep-rooted social and political issues. They are Christian issues, if you will.

They are the issues raised so provocatively 2,000 years ago in the Sermon on the Mount. They are the unchanging issues which lie historically between the welfare and dignity of people as a whole and the power of a few to hold the many in ignorance and exploitation, to inflame them to violence, to turn man against man, sect against sect, and set humanity against itself for the profit and power of the few.

IT IS easy enough to find allies for those attacked at Peekskill on the constitutional grounds of the right of free assembly. It is not so easy to find aliles on the basis of "Paul Robeson's politics," on the basis of the political and social conflict inherent at Peekskill, as at Bernau, indeed as in Judea 2,000 years ago.

The New York **Times**, for example, has editorially defended the right of Paul Robeson to sing, and of people to hear him, without molestation. In so stating, the **Times** carefully dissociates itself from Robeson's "political views," disposing of these in a single phrase as matters which are "ruining" his career as an artist. This is the attitude not only of the **Times**, but of countless other institutions and individuals who abhor what happened at Peekskill.

YET thus to dissociate one's self from Paul Robeson's political views is to ignore the most meaningful of the circumstances surrounding the Peekskill affair.

Dissociation from Robeson's political views is dissociation from:

- Peace.
- Freedom from racial and religious persecution and discrimination.
- The struggle of people everywhere to secure for themselves the just and proper fruits of their labor — health, education, security, equality of opportunity, human dignity and freedom.

These objectives are not those of Paul Robeson alone, they are the objectives of an overwhelming majority of the people of the United States and the world. They are objectives voiced not only in the great human documents which gave the United States its birth but they are objectives articulated virtually point for point in the Sermon on the Mount, which is the foundation-stone of Christianity.

THE incitement at Peekskill was against these objectives, even though the stones were hurled at Robeson and those gathering to hear him. Equal victims with Robeson and his followers were the people who cast the stones, who voiced vile epithets put in their mouths by those who thrive on Jew-baiting, Negro-hating, Red-baiting, dividing people as a means of halting progress. The people who cast the stones hurt themselves the most, themselves and their children after them, although truly they knew not what they did.

Thus it has been throughout the history of man's effort to free himself from exploitation and ignorance. Thus it will be until the thinking people of the world, and particularly of the United States, cast aside the superficial differences which keep them divided and take a stand together for the historical aims of mankind.

THOSE who deny Robeson, deny these aims. For them, the Sermon on the Mount has its reminder:

*Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall be called the children of God.*

*"Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven."*

And, to the Robesons of all ages and those who stand with them:

*"Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost his savour, wherewith shall it be salted?"*

Stand up, therefore, and be counted—not only for the persecuted but for the great purposes for which men brave persecution. If you do not, then indeed the salt shall have lost his savour.

John T. McManus

*Henry A. Wallace*

## An open letter to Gov. Dewey on Peekskill

THE grave questions raised by the outbreak of violence at Peekskill which bore the ugly marks of the fascist spirit last Sunday have not been answered by the report of District Attorney Fanelli picturing state and local police as helpless to preserve law and order against a group of teenagers. Nor can they be answered by your release of that report without comment.

Every decent American has been revolted and alarmed by the violation of fundamental American liberties which occurred at Peekskill. Whatever their political sympathites or affiliations, they will join in denouncing this violent and unprovoked attack on a group of men, women and children gathered together to hear a great American artist and to vindicate their democratic right of peaceful asembly.

Sunday afternoon's reign of terror cannot be dismissed as the work of a few irresponsible teen-age hot-heads. All the evidence indicates that this violent outbreak of racial and religious bigotry and political bigotry and political intolerance was deliberate and premeditated.

THE most menacing aspect of the Peekskill incident was the conduct of local officials and state and local law enforcement officers. Early in the day they demonstrated that they had the power fully to cope with any threatened breaches of the peace—if they so desired. But photographic and eye-witness evidence establishes that the violent assaults on homeward bound citizens occurred with the connivance and encouragement of the police. Indeed, there are indications, demanding investigation, that police officers themselves committed acts of violence.

The failure to arrest and prosecute those guilty of violence, notwithstanding the fact that their lawless acts were committeed in the presence of the police and that their identity can be established from newspaper photographs, gives further cause for the lack of confidence in local law enforcement officers.

IN ANTICIPATION of a possible outbreak of violence you issued an order to the local authorities to preserve law and order, and stated that you would hold them responsible for any failure. District Attorney Fanelli's report now makes this failure patent. It therefore becomes your duty to fix their responsibility.

As a resident of Westchester County I join with my fellow Americans throughout the country in urging you to supersede the local officials and order a disinterested, thorough and relentless investigation into the lawless events of last Sunday. This blot on American democracy and on the long and honored progressive tradition of our state can be erased and the guarantees of the Bill of Rights made secure for all of our citizens only by promptly exposing and bringing to justice all those who participated in, or incited, or encouraged this disgraceful and un-American conduct. **Henry A. Wallace**

*(Continued from preceding page)*

was inscribed the slogan: "Wake Up America—Peekskill Did." That slogan was a pass-word. It distinguished friend from foe.

The roads leading to the abandoned golf course were crowded with cars, buses and trucks. A police helicopter hovered overhead. A demonstrating monoplane circled the area trailing a "God Bless America" streamer.

### The parade

At the gate leading to the golf course, veterans' organizations marched, carrying flags and post banners. Drums, fifes and bugles played. A solid mass of jeering people blocked the entry way. Many were kids in their teens. Some were women, the softness gone out of their faces. They thumbed noses, shouted threats, curses and obscenities which normally would have shocked them.

**ECHOES OF GERMANY:** Some shouted: "Commies, nigger lovers. . . . You're goin' in but you ain't comin' out."

Others yelled: "Kikes! String 'em up! Send 'em back to Russia!"

Police guarded every road. There were state troopers in cowboy hats and jackboots; local cops in blue; sheriff's deputies in green, county cops in blue and gray; and hastily sworn-in deputies in civilian clothes or army khaki. They swung long nightsticks. Pistols dangled from many belts.

**IN CASE:** Inside the golf course a cordon of 300 men and women stood quietly, just in case. . . . When Robeson appeared, his audience of 15,000 stood and roared an ovation. Robeson said: "I have to applaud you today. I want to thank you for being here." Then he sang. Thousands were kept away by troopers who would not disturb the picketing mobs to let any more pass through to the golf course. Those who despaired of getting in and left early looked at the armies of police and thought there would be no violence.

### The violence

Shortly after 4 p.m. the concert ended. The concert-goers filed to their buses and their cars. They passed through the lines of police and were ordered down a dirt road. About 100 yards away from the golf course gate the first rock crashed through the window of a car; the first blood of that Sunday had been shed. The story was pieced together from those who faced the attack:

- **"ONE ROCK,** the size of a large grapefruit, came through the side window and struck my crouched body on my left shoulder and cutting through the upper part of my ear to the skin on my head beneath. . . . By the time we reached Route 6, I was in such pain and bleeding so profusely that I had stopped for another driver to take over."—**Stuart G. Ballin of Austin, Tex.**

- **"ONE BUS FILLED** with mothers and children was reported hit by a boulder. . . . I counted 50 or 60 cars . . . with terrific gashes in the front windows and sides. Cars were careening as the rocks hit them and drivers momentarily lost control. [Another tactic was to throw whitewash on windshields.—Ed.] I saw one car stopped by a bunch of youngsters. They all converged on the car. A bloodthirsty cry went up and they made a move to drag the occupants out. One older man got on top of the car and motioned the kids away. The state troopers did nothing."—**Leon Edel, New York "Compass," quoting another newsman.**

- **"A BUS PASSED** wih a six-inch hole in the windshield and numerous holes in the windows. The passengers crouched on the floor and the driver held a handkerchief to his bloody mouth and chin. An old lady of about 60 sang out: 'That'll teach the bastards.' One cop laughed and said: 'I bet they won't come back here in a hurry.' "—**John Corrigan, N. Y.**

### Police in action

Few of the defense group back at the golf course knew of the rock barrage. They waited quietly. But state troopers and police lined them up, frisked them, took away anything they had with them that might be used for defense, then exposed them to attack.

James Hicks of the **Afro-American** reported:

"I saw Jean Bullard knocked down at my feet (see picture, p. 1) and brutally kicked and beaten by state troopers as he lay on the ground because he spat at an anti-Robeson veteran who had spit in his face.

**SICK TO HIS STOMACH:** "I saw a colored man who was in his car and on his way home dragged from his car, hit over the head while he was being dragged out, beaten on the ground by the troopers as he attempted to crawl under his car for protection. He was then dragged from underneath the car and beaten with clubs by four troopers as he crawled helplessly down the narrow road leading to the concert area."

Others reported troopers watching while a group loaded a truck with stones for a new attack.

John F. Norman, editor of the New Jersey **Worker,** wrote:

"About 15 troopers surrounded the car at once. One of them stopped at the front right window where I sat. He took careful aim and shoved his nightstick point first at my left eye. I ducked my head when I saw it coming. The club missed the eyeball and caught the corner of the lid. It began to bleed and when I brought my head up he aimed at the eye again. I fended the club off with my arm.

**BEATEN SENSELESS:** "They ordered us out of the car. Then, as we got out, they began to club us over the head. Reuben Bloksberg, president of the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Union local, was beaten senseless. Another passenger was beaten over the knee caps.

"I was forced through a gauntlet of 15 or 20 cops. Each of them clubbed me across the head or back. I tried to escape. They threw me to the ground and continued the beating. One of the cops noticed a bandage on my left hand, which had been burned the week before. He jumped on the hand and ground his heel into the bandage, fracturing one of the burned fingers. Then they dragged us back to the car, shoved us in and told us to move on."

In a Peekskill bar a New York **Times** reporter heard a man say: "Why should we get sweated up? The kids can do a better job and the cops don't run them in."

### The toll

Paul Robeson was uninjured but on his way out a trooper stopped his car, recognized him, and struck with his nightstick at the windshield.

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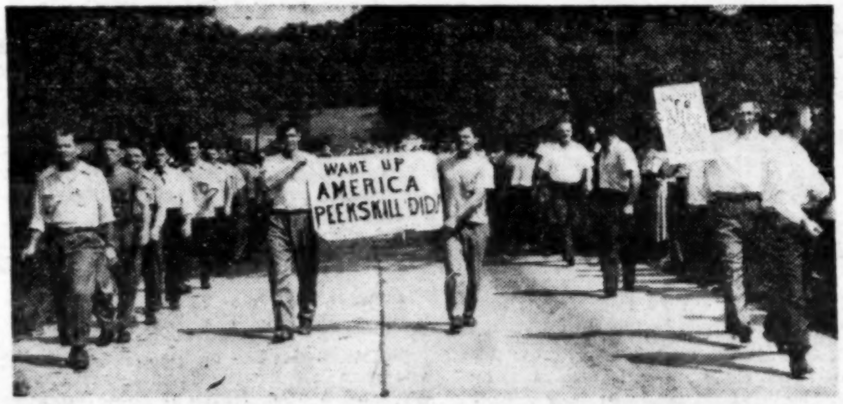


This call to hoodlumism was plastered all over Peekskill.

Hate and spite and venom — the faces of the jeering women and girls.

State troopers reached into cars and pulled occupants out.

*(Continued from preceding page)*

In all, 145 were injured. Two were near death. Another was almost totally blinded.

Ten of the attackers were arrested. Among them was Joe Lillis Jr., son of Peekskill's chief of police. Three received suspended sentences in short order.

Westchester's District Attorney George M. Fanelli reported to Gov. Dewey: "All police departments that took part . . . should be commended."

## Peekskill aftermath

REVERBERATIONS of Peekskill echoed throughout the nation. Organizations and individuals rallied in protest. The American Civil Liberties Union offered a reward for information which could lead to the arrest of the persons responsible.

The protest was joined by the Philadelphia Council of the American Jewish Congress, the Brooklyn chapter of the NAACP. In Georgia, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt described the violence as "perfectly outrageous." At his Thursday press conference President Truman said Mrs. Roosevelt had covered the situation perfectly.

### Peekskill in pictures

The Progressive Party is publishing a four-page picture tabloid on Peekskill. Copies are 75c per 100, or $6 per 1,000. Fifteen-minute platters of on-the-spot recordings are also available at $5 a platter. Address of the PP is 56 W. 45th St., N.Y.

But there were ugly signs of new Peekskills in the making.

- **IN GARY, IND.**, hundreds of hoodlums armed with lead pipes, baseball bats, bricks and even a shotgun, and led by supervisors from the Carnegie Illinois Steel Works and local business men, lay in ambush on the beach area of Lake Michigan. Egged on by the local press, they were bent on breaking up an inter-racial party, Beachhead of Democracy, scheduled to be held at the jimcrow Marquette Park Municipal Beach.

The Mayor told the progressive youth sponsoring the party: "There are not enough police in Gary to protect you." But the young people successfully ran the gauntlet of hoodlums, held the beachhead for 45 minutes till police closed the beach to all persons. The frustrated hoodlums then let loose in a night ride of window smashing. Homes of two Gary progressives and the car of the Progressive Party treasurer, a leading physician, were attacked.

- **IN PITTSBURGH, PA.**, Allegheny County American Legion officials announced they would ask city and school officials to ban a proposed Paul Robeson peace rally Oct. 15.

### GROVELAND

## Death for 2 more

THE trial lasted three days. Through it all Judge Truman Futch whittled at a piece of wood with a pocket knife. Four hundred whites crowded the courtroom. Upstairs in the jimcrow balcony 75 Negroes watched tensely.

For the first time in the history of the Tavares, Fla., court, two Negro attorneys pleaded a case. Representing NAACP, with a white associate, they were defending three Negroes accused of raping a young white housewife.

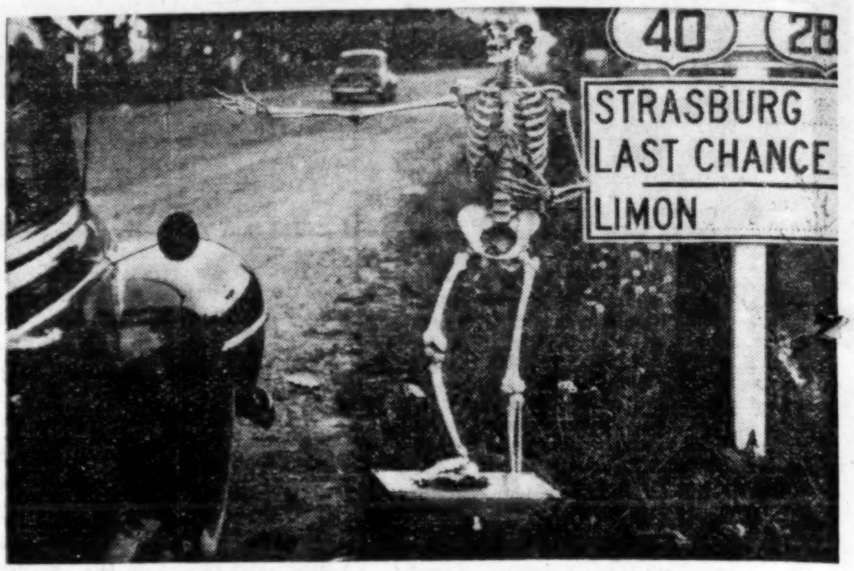
**MERCY:** Then an unbelievable thing happened: the all-white jury stayed out two hours, a phenomenally long time in such a case in a southern court. And then, though it found all three guilty and sent two to the electric chair, it recommended "mercy" for the third, sparing his life. The white audience was first stunned, then furious.

It went after the two Negro lawyers and Ted Poston, Negro reporter for the New York **Post Home News.** They managed to escape in a wild 90-mile-an-hour chase all the way to Orlando, 40 miles away.

That was the aftermath of the Groveland, Fla., Ku Klux Klan terror in which one Negro was lynched by a 100-man posse, the homes of three Negroes burned to the ground, and 400 others forced to flee for their lives. The terror had lasted for days, cooled off only when the National Guard was called out.

On Thursday Judge Futch went through the formality of sentencing the three. For Walter Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, both 22, both war veterans: death. For 16-year-old Charles Greenlee: life imprisonment. A motion for a new trial was denied.

NAACP has appealed the convictions.



**"Going my way?"**

**In Denver motorists are getting this grim warning from an unwelcome hitchhiker. The warning could not be more timely: 450 persons (a new record) were killed in accidents on the Labor Day weekend**

# WASHINGTON

## Trade agreements and political hay

THE Senate had had a long unofficial Labor Day weekend; most senators took off a week ago Thursday, leaving a handful to keep the record straight. On Saturday four stay-behinds assembled for 15 seconds to declare another 3-day recess, making it all legal. But on Wednesday the Senate was officially at work again. It faced a long, bitter wrangle over an ancient U.S. political issue: high or low tariffs. Estimates were that the debate would drag out for two weeks.

Early in New Deal days Congress granted the President authority to negotiate trade agreements with foreign nations, raising or lowering tariff rates at his discretion. Aim of the measure was to break down barriers and stimulate world trade.

**THE LINES ARE DRAWN:** The Republican 80th Congress restricted the President's power with a "peril point" amendment under which the U.S. Tariff Commission became a watchdog to see that tariff reductions didn't go below a level that would result in damage to U.S. producers. In effect, the "peril point" provision robbed the President of his freedom in negotiating reciprocal trade agreements. That act expired June 30.

Now the lines are drawn to fight the battle over again. Only after that issue is settled will the arms bill come up for more debate.

**PRESIDENTIAL HAY:** During the long weekend President Truman made some political hay with two speeches on Labor Day. In Pittsburgh he praised the 81st Congress, assured labor he was still for repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; in Des Moines he made a farm speech with a plug for the Brannan farm production subsidy plan. The Congress the President praised had effectively killed both measures.

### Chicago dateline

## Jim Montgomery is free, but KKK won't let up

**By Rod Holmgren**

CHICAGO

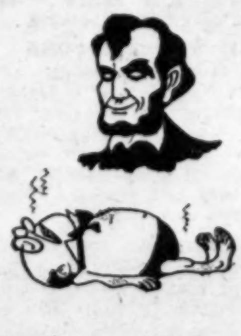
JAMES MONTGOMERY, the Waukegan Negro who spent nearly 26 years in Stateville penitentiary on a framed rape charge, has been a "free" man since Aug. 10. But the Ku Klux Klan, which helped railroad him to prison for a crime that was never committed, won't let him alone.

He has received threatening letters and phone calls regularly. Last week the phone wires to his home were cut. The first letter signed "KKK" was turned over to the FBI; "investigating" since Aug. 13, it has found nothing. Waukegan police were asked for protection, but Negroes in Montgomery's community say the police patrol is inadequate, so they have set up their own informal vigil.

**USEFUL GIFTS:** Since his release from prison, Montgomery has received $1,250 in gifts from sympathizers in the U.S. and Canada. He has established the James Montgomery Foundation, to which he gave the money. Luis Kutner, the attorney who secured Montgomery's freedom, was named general counsel for the Foundation, which will defend civil rights cases regardless of race, color or creed.

Kutner believes the state owes Montgomery compensation for the injustice. How much is 25 years of life worth? "It is impossible to measure this in dollars, but I won't ask for less than $100,000," the attorney says.

### Lincoln's ghost objects



*REP. G. WILLIAM HORSLEY, Springfield Republican, did his best to crack heads at the University of Chicago and Roosevelt College in an investigation of "subversive activities" last spring. Both schools emerged unscathed.*

*Horsley last week played the role of Abraham Lincoln in a re-enactment of the famous wrestling match between Lincoln and Jack Armstrong. A Chicago company filmed the fight between Horsley and J. J. Slavin, classified advertising manager for the* Illinois State Register and Journal, *at New Salem, for a movie on Lincoln's early life.*

*Several days later Horsley went to his doctor with pains in the side. Several busted ribs were boring at him from within.*

### Fares: up, up, up

BRITTON I. BUDD retired two weeks ago as president of the Burlington Railroad. His first move last week as new chairman of the Chicago Transit Authority was to announce a 10c hourly wage increase for trolley and elevated workers, to be followed by a 2c boost in fares. (The fares are already highest in the country, 13 and 15 cents.)

Budd promised public hearings but indicated the decision has been reached.

**DOESN'T MAKE SENSE:** John Conforti, a garment worker, voiced typical reaction: "Why do they have to raise fares every time they raise wages? That doesn't make sense. Lots of concerns give their workers raises without passing the cost on to their customers."

CTA claimed a $1,000,000 loss for the year ending July 11—after high interest payments to bondholders.

# POLITICS

### NEW YORK

## ALP regulars win

IN New York City, American Labor Party regulars buried insurgent City Councilman Eugene P. Connolly under a six-to-one vote in his primary contest against Ewart Guinier, Negro international secretary-treasurer of the CIO United Public Workers and organization candidate for the nomination for Manhattan borough president.

Less an anti-Guinier move than an untimely challenge to the ALP leadership of Congressman Vito Marcantonio, the Connolly defeat left an embittered splinter of ALPers with no place to go politically, since their show of strength was insufficient to make them attractive even to the Liberal Party, much less Tammany.

Tammany won all its primary contests but one, in which retired tough cop Johnny Broderick bested a midtown district leader.

**THE KICKOFF:** Night after the primary, the Mayoralty campaign was on.

Newbold Morris, Republican-Liberal candidate took to the radio against Mayor William O'Dwyer. ALP candi-

### Thanks to all reporters

The Editors of the GUARDIAN wish to thank the dozens of readers who telephoned, wrote or dropped into our office with reports of their experiences at the Robeson concert in Peekskill. Much of the material has been incorporated in our coverage of the event. All of the material was excellent and reliable reporting.

date Marcantonio took out after both of them.

Marc had O'Dwyer cold on the 10-cent subway fare, which the mayor had prevented from going to referendum where it would have been defeated; and on beatings and killings of Negroes by N.Y. cops. He had both on their failures to challenge Dem.-Rep. shilly-shallying with Taft-Hartley, civil rights, housing, and for failure to speak out on the Peekskill riots.

Newbold Morris, seeking to assume the mantle of late, great Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia, Marcantonio called "a Boy Scout who has lost his scoutmaster" and "a man from nowhere trying to find his way home."

Statewide there was a Senate race for the seat vacated by Sen. Robert Wagner, retired because of failing health. Ex-Gov. Herbert H. Lehman was the Dem.-Liberal candidate; incumbent John Foster Dulles, the Republican. ALP prepared to announce its candidate this week.

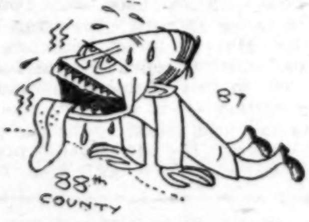
**OHIO**

## They're after Taft

THE noises from Ohio were disturbing. Congressional elections were still more than a year away but the campaign was already on to beat Sen. Robert Alphonso Taft, father of the Taft-Hartley Law, known to many as "Mr. Republican." All of Ohio labor was out to get its worst enemy.

AFL President William Green had two choice words for him: "outstandingly reprehensible." He vowed his defeat, "cost what it will." Union assessments of $1 and $2 were being levied for a campaign chest.

Worried, Sen. Taft loaded up his car in Washington day before Labor Day and headed home for the toughest campaign of his career. In the next 100 days he planned to campaign in every one of Ohio's 88 counties; his schedule called for five or six talks a day. He would turn up in the Senate only to vote on crucial issues.



On one point his opponents were lagging: They still had chosen no candidate.

**DETROIT**

## Press dodges taxes

DETROITERS going to the primary polls Sept. 13 have rarely contended with such a profusion of herrings and issues. While at least four candidates for mayor, including City Council President George Edwards and Mayor Van Antwerp, embroiled themselves in a hunt for "subversives," Progressives shot a campaign harpoon at all of them. It bore the label "municipal corruption."

Progressive candidate Mort Furay, CIO United Public Workers official, exposed tax juggling in favor of Detroit's big newspapers. Using official records, he demonstrated that the Hearst, Scripps and Knight papers kept separate books for stockholders and tax assessors. Their real estate and property valuations were high for coupon-clippers, low for city collectors.

Newspapers said the news of the tax gouge had already been "adequately handled."

# THE ECONOMY

**PROGRESSIVE JOB PARLEY**

## Wallace, Marc and Gaeth will speak

KEYNOTE speakers at the Progressive Party's national conference on Jobs and the Economic Crisis will be Henry Wallace, Vito Marcantonio and radio commentator Arthur Gaeth. The conference will be held in Cleveland's Public Auditorium Sept. 17-18.

Wallace will analyze the origins of current unemployment and outline the measures necessary to prevent a depression. Marcantonio will review the do-nothing record of the 81st Congress in relation to the unemployment situation and propose legislative remedies. A first hand report on the job situation will be given by Gaeth who has been touring critical unemployment areas in the east and midwest.

**UNIONS, FARMERS, WOMEN:** Earl Dickerson, former member of the President's Commission on Fair Employment Practices, has been chosen to head the panel on the economic rights of the Negro people. Other panels will discuss the problems of young people, farmers, women, and labor.

About 750 delegates are expected to attend the conference which will draft an action program "to provide jobs, guarantee adequate insurance for the unemployed and halt the economic crisis."

Delegates desiring housing accomodation should write to Hugh DeLacy, Conference Secretary, 1899 W. 25th St., Cleveland, Ohio. A $2 registration fee includes admission to all sessions. There will be no charge for the unemployed.

# LABOR WEEK

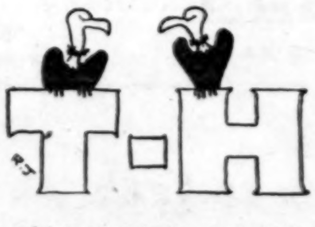
**LABOR DAY**

## Talk and action

LABOR DAY went by with gusts of oratory, some of it pointed. In Boston, Secretary of Labor Tobin said "Taft-Hartley will have to go—and it will go." In New York, Rep. Vito Marcantonio (ALP) announced he had 74 names signed to a House petition to force a vote this session on repeal of the Taft-Hartley Law and is after the other 144 needed to end the administration's "betrayal and double-cross."

**CIO AT SARATOGA:** New York State CIO unions went into their tenth annual convention at Saratoga Springs after their executive board had overridden opposition to wholesale endorsement of President Truman's foreign policy and condemnation of Soviet policy. No withdrawals or expulsions were expected at the convention, called a "curtain-raiser" for the October national CIO sessions at Cleveland.

**ANSWER TO RAIDERS:** CIO American Communications Assn. leaders voted unanimously last week to comply with Taft-Hartley. They pledged to fight "enemies of our union, whether among employers or raiding unions." One foe is the CIO American Radio Assn., which wants to oust ACA from Mackay Radio.



**MINE-MILL AT CHICAGO:** Its fourth-round wage drive was moving along as the CIO Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers gathered at Chicago for the union's Sept. 12-17 convention. Said Vice-President Reid Robinson: "There's only one way to move, and that's ahead."

**MISSOURI PACIFIC STRIKE:** A total of 282 unsettled grievances finally drove 5,000 Missouri Pacific Railroad trainmen, engineers, firemen and conductors into a strike. Government mediation had failed. The railroad wanted to keep on talking.

**HAWAII TO NEW YORK:** Cyrus S. Ching, federal mediation director, sat down in New York with Hawaiian shipping bosses and CIO Longshoremen's Union leaders. Background was 130 days of strike caused by employers' rejection of a 32c hourly wage boost. Ching said he'd hold meetings "as long as there's any hope."

**ON TO SINGER:** The City Council of Elizabeth, N. J., offered to mediate the strike of 7,000 United Electrical Workers, fighting speedup and low wages at the Singer Sewing Machine Co. The union accepted the offer; the company rejected it. On Sept. 13 New Jersey labor was to unite in a mass picket line at the plant.

### Robeson at Wallace dinner

Paul Robeson will be a principal speaker at the dinner to honor Henry Wallace Sept. 12, at the Hotel Astor in New York. Ted O. Thackrey, editor and publisher of the N.Y. **Daily Compass**, is chairman. Reservations may be telephoned to Progressive Party national headquarters, 56 W. 45th St., MUrray Hill 7-8100.

*West Coast wire*

## New GI councilman lifts lid on racist housing

By Gene Richards

LOS ANGELES

WHILE two homes on Los Angeles' Southeast Side were being physically defended by determined progressives against racist mobs, City Hall itself rocked to a blast from Councilman Ed Roybal, who was just overwhelmingly elected by progressive and minority groups in L. A's unprivileged East Side.

He said that only six contractors among the scores building GI homes in L. A. County will sell to veterans from minority groups. The others exclude Jews, Japanese-Americans, Mexican-Americans and Negroes. A veteran himself, he said that he had been unable to buy a new GI home because he was a Mexican-American.

**TERROR IN NIGHT:** As he spoke, William H. Whitson, 1863 E. 70th St., a white veteran who trained Negro troops for three years, gratefully accepted aid from the Civil Rights Congress and National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People. Whitson's life with his wife and two children had been terrorized for five nights by mobs which gathered to jeer and threaten because he had sold his house to a Negro, Ulysses S. Bluntson.

Also a mob target was a nearby residence into which Lonnie B. Williams, also a Negro, and his family had moved. When Williams called for sheriff's deputies to guard his family, the deputies took away his gun and stood by laconically while the jim-crowers howled their hatred.

Members of the Southeast Interracial Council sat up with the Williams family and distributed 500 leaflets in the neighborhood.

### Sellers wins

*AN all-white silk-stocking Sacramento jury last week voted 11 to 1 for acquittal of James Sellers, Negro CIO warehouse worker, of murder charges in the shooting of a Southern Pacific Railroad guard.*

*Courageous white railroad workers had testified that George Kebort, the dead man, was a sadist who had chased Sellers onto public property and drew a second weapon after Sellers had seized his gun. Sellers then shot in self-defense.*

*Sellers victory was due largely to the effective defense coalition of the CIO Warehousemen, NAACP, Independent Progressive Party and civil rights groups.*

### New farm union threat

WEST Coast CIO and AFL leaders moved last week to meet a new threat to the organization of farm workers. The threat was an interpretation by Walter Erb, regional supervisor of the U. S. Employment Service, of the "bracero" agreement between the U. S. and Mexico, by which Mexican workers are brought into "labor shortage" areas. Erb announced that while nothing in the agreement prevented the Mexicans from joining unions, "the Immigration Department will deport them" if they strike. He added, placatingly, that braceros will be allowed to "refuse" to enter strikebound areas.

**SHORTAGE DENIED:** Both the CIO Food, Tobacco and Agricultural Workers Union and AFL National Farm Labor Union had argued against the agreements, denying a labor shortage existed and charging the Truman administration with helping corporation farmers develop a cheap labor pool to block organization. The importation drive comes on the heels of a big U. S. deportation drive against Mexicans to "protect" jobs for native labor.

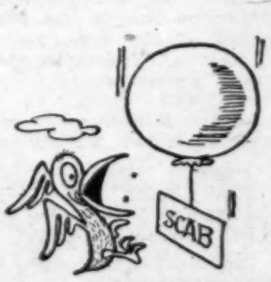
FTA regional representative Wendell Phillips said his union will police the contract "to guarantee that the Mexicans are not exploited."

## Union-busting at Bell

SINCE June 13, Bell Aircraft members of the CIO United Auto Workers at Buffalo, N.Y., have been on strike for pensions and a 10c-an-hour pay increase. The company, reporting profits of $133,332 for the six months ending June 30, refuses to negotiate, rejects mediation, tries to get scabs past militant pickets by helicopter and bus.

Unions in the area—CIO, AFL and independent—see the Bell struggle as one against a powerful new union-busting drive. Last week they responded to a UAW call to halt a back-to-work movement. When scab-laden buses nosed into the lines, there was trouble. Strikers and scabs got hurt. Gov. Dewey ordered action against the "mob," meaning the strikers.

**COMPANY BOYS:** Leon Ambrose and John Mandeville, back-to-work leaders, angered Bell strikers with inflammatory press statements. Lawrence D. Bell, company president, congratulated both for their "guts."



In a lighter moment, strikers picketed three Bell helicopters being used by police by flying balloons carrying union solidarity slogans.

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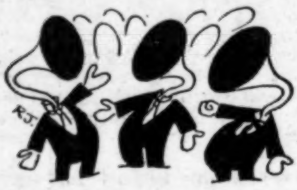
# THE WORLD

## BRITAIN'S CRISIS

### Snyder drives a hard bargain in Capital

THE world spotlight was focused on the Anglo-U.S.-Canadian financial talks in Washington. Millions of words written and spoken on Britain's economic crisis were calculated to conceal the simple fact that the cold war has bankrupted Britain.



Stripped to essentials, this is Britain's economic problem: Britain imports two billion dollars more than she exports. About 1.4 billion of this deficit is incurred in the dollar area where she buys food and raw materials. Before the war Britain's dollar deficit was met by income from overseas investment, then about 900 million dollars a year. This income shrank after the war to about 200 million dollars, and was no longer sufficient to meet the dollar deficit.

**THERE IS A SOLUTION:** This deficit grew as a result of the cold war, which imposed heavy military expenditures and distorted world trade to increase Britain's dependence on the dollar bloc. More than six billion dollars in U.S. aid couldn't plug the growing dollar gap.

Only solution for Britain is modernization of its industrial plant and expanded and stable international trade. But remedies proposed on both sides of the Atlantic are based on continuing the cold war. Britain can do it only on a U.S. dole.

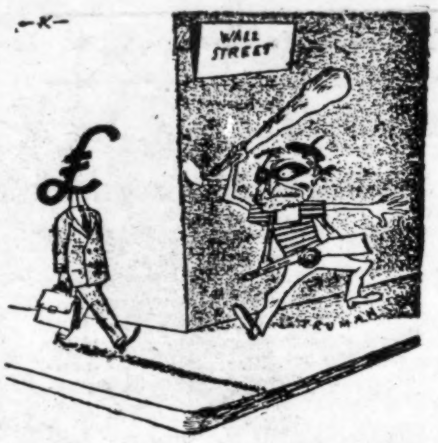
### Bucks for Britain

British Foreign Secretary Bevin, arriving on the Mauretania last week, talked boldly of an economic "one world" to match the political "one world" of the Atlantic Pact. Sir Stafford Cripps, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in an opening statement to the conference, urged the U.S. and Canada to expand Britain's dollar earning opportunities but had no suggestions as to how this could be done. U.S. Secretary of the Treasury Snyder, presiding over the talks, warned Britain to expect declining, not increasing, U.S. aid.

Informed observers expected the Washington talks to produce little in the way of concrete action. Britain's future course was being charted elsewhere.

### It's tough all over

- Throughout Europe, Britain is running into ever stiffer competition from a U.S.-backed and U.S.-run Germany. The U.S. is using its control of Germany's foreign trade to oust Britain from export markets it has captured since the war.
- In China, British merchants are hopeful of doing business with the Chinese Communists. But the Foreign Office appears to be following the U.S. lead on trade with Communist China. The U.S. is reported pressing for an embargo similar to that imposed on the Soviet Union. The Foreign Office, however, is still using its position in China as a bargaining point with the U.S.
- In Southeast Asia, Britain is demanding that the U.S. take over financing of the suppression of national liberation movements, much as in an earlier crisis it insisted the U.S. step into Greece.
- In Paris, Britain meekly accepted a Marshall Plan dollar allotment 40% lower than it had originally claimed was necessary. ECA Administrator Hoffman warned that even this allotment might be cut further.
- In Bridlington, England, acceptance by the Trade Union Congress of a program which inevitably involves a wage cut for British workers (see Schaffer, this page) was the most significant step yet taken by the Labor Government in accepting U.S. terms.



Tvorba, Prague

**Anglo-American cooperation**

These events pointed to the Labor Government's eventual capitulation to the U.S. America wants Britain and its empire opened to U.S. investment on favorable terms.

### Trade with Russia

Britain's only gesture of independence was the signing of an agreement with Russia providing for the purchase of one million tons of Russian grain. This will save Britain about $300,000,000 and may mean an increase next spring over the two-a-week egg ration and 16-oz.-a-week bacon ration of British consumers.

**THE ALTERNATIVE:** Russia needs British machinery and industrial products. The Russian grain agreement seemed to prove that if the Labor government were seriously interested in solving the economic crisis and maintaining Britain's independence, its top level representatives would be in Moscow working out a large scale trade agreement rather than in Washington preparing to accept U.S. restrictions on its economic policies and trade.

## CHINA

### Tide moves swiftly: Chiang in a corner

WESTERN diplomats have watched uneasily as the fires of popular revolt flare in the southeast corner of Asia—in Burma, Viet Nam and Malaya. What would happen when the Communist armies of China, in their march across their own land, reach that corner?

Last week, though the vanguard of the Communist armies was still far to the north, the vast southern province of Yunnan threatened to desert Chiang. Yunnan borders both Burma and Viet Nam.

Provincial Governor Gen. Lu Han was said to be ready to declare his independence of the Kuomintang government and make his peace with the Communists. Hong Kong buzzed with conflicting rumors. Some said that Gen. Lu was merely maneuvering politically to hold Chiang up for some gravy. Some said he was trying to forestall a left-wing revolt in his ranks. Others said the threatened revolt was right-wing. Christopher Rand in the New York **Herald Tribune** termed it "an example of government decay."

### Chungking burns

To add to Chiang's troubles, Chungking—the city he had staked out for his capital when Canton fell—went up in flames. For 18 hours the fire raged along the waterfront and the banking districts of the city. The official **Central News Agency** estimated that 1,000 had died and 100,000 had been made homeless; 7,000 buildings were destroyed. Many of the victims leaped from the flames into the Yangtse and drowned.

**MILLIONS FOR WHOM?** In Washington, Sen. Tom Conally, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, accused Chiang of having "absconded" to Formosa with $138,000,000 in gold after "deserting" the Chinese people. Opposing the Republican drive to give more aid to non-communist China, Connally asked sacastically: "Who is non-communist China? . . . Is the President going to China and stop everybody on the streets and ask him if he is non-communist and then give each one his share?"

A day later Connally announced the administration would accept a plan to give $75,000,000 to China provided the President retained complete control of its use.

**CANTON GESTURE:** The Communists edged closer to the coastal town of Amoy opposite the island of Formosa, Chiang's refuge of last resort. Huddled with his advisers in Canton, Acting President Li Tsung-jen ordered the arrest of Mao Tse-tung and 18 other leaders of the Communists. The AP said this would be rather difficult to accomplish.

**JOIN THE UNION:** In Free China organizers speed swiftly from town to town, from shop to shop, organizing unions and signing contracts almost as fast as China's industries grow. An estimated 15,000,000 Chinese are already in unions. Organizers set themselves a deadline: Nov. 15—when the

(Continued on following page)

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*Report on TUC convention*

## Fancy card tricks keep British labor in barrel

**By Gordon Schaffer**

BRIDLINGTON, ENGLAND

IN this Yorkshire coast resort delegates of more than 8,000,000 British working men and women gathered this week for the 81st annual meeting of the Trades Union Congress. The TUC General Council, backed by the block of votes of three of Britain's biggest unions, pushed through its well-prepared attack against the left with expected success.

In his opening address, Sir William Lawther, TUC president and head of the Mine Workers, denounced "communist-inspired strikes," telling workers the strike weapon is out of date and should no longer be used. By card votes of better than 6 to 1, delegates condemned "communist interference' and disaffiliated from the World Federation of Trade Unions.

**SIR WILLIAM LAWTHER**

*Knights, to arms! The pickets come!*

**THE OLD CARD TRICK:** But these card votes give little idea of the strength of the minority. When votes are taken, each union holds up a card bearing the total membership of the organization. No matter how large the minority vote, it is not revealed in the count.

The virulent anti-communist policy which dominated almost every section of the General Council report was calculated to obscure the real issue facing the labor movement. The unions must mobilize the workers to defend the standards of the people or find the capitalists solving the crisis at the workers expense.

It is precisely this issue which the leaders ignored. Their report accepted capitalist solutions to Britain's crisis: indorsing the government policy of freezing wages and letting profits rise. In his address to the Congress, Prime Minister Clement Attlee said the government would insist on holding wages down while demanding increased production at lower costs.

**HARDLY ORIGINAL:** This TUC-Attlee program differs little from that issued earlier by the Federation of British Industries, executive body of big business. Under both programs, wage cutting is inevitable. The trade union leaders know this but, having accepted the doctrine that profits cannot be cut, they are left defenseless.

A fight was expected on the issue of profits, since even the right-wing unions have passed resolutions demanding profit cuts. The Oxford Institute of Statistics has just revealed that company profits in "socialist" Britain totalled $11,400,000,000 in 1948 as compared to $4,700,000,000 in capitalist Britain in 1938. And even ardent government supporters are angered by the recent revelation that prosperous firms are paying out scores of millions of pounds in bonus shares—on which lucky recipients do not even pay tax.

Despite the General Council's support for wage freezing (called more politely "restraint in wage applications"), a number of unions are fighting for support of their wage demands at the Congress. They have hundreds of thousands of members earning less than five pounds a week (about $20), on which a family cannot live in decency. They will not be convinced that they must remain in this condition because no more can be taken out of profits.

**POUND-FOOLISH:** The Bridlington debates were overshadowed by the Washington talks. If Britain devalues the pound, as is now hinted in London, the value of real wages will fall. Then the trade unions will have to decide whether they are going to protect the standards of their members. Even leaders whose sole occupation at the moment appears to be to attack the communists will find they cannot retain the support of their members unless they do a real job.

As the crisis grows more acute, the class consciousness of the workers, which has been obscured up to now by their understandable loyalty to the Labor government, will come into play. And it should be remembered that although their leaders can vote at Bridlington with cards representing the whole of their membership, even in those unions on which the General Council relies for its majority there is a virile minority which is not prepared to follow policies which can lead only to disaster.

(Continued from preceding page)

World Federation of Trade Unions will meet in Peiping.

**MOVING DAYS:** In Shanghai, 2,000,000 people were packing. They were people who belonged exclusively to the old, vanishing Shanghai. Among them were 100,000 shopworkers kept in Shanghai's perennial pool of unemployed; 650,000 of the desperate poor; 100,000 landlords; and 170,000 of what the New China News Agency called "loafers." Old China hands were familiar with the swarms of black-marketeers and beggars who cluttered Shanghai's streets. Each one was to receive either land or training in some new job elsewhere—and a chance for a new life.

## YUGOSLAVIA-COMINFORM

### Visitors to Tito and new charges

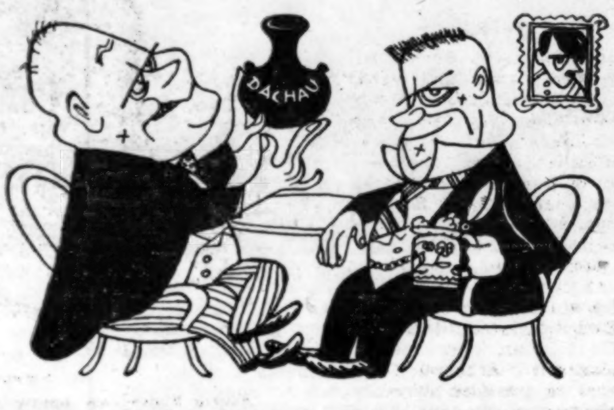
THESE developments occurred in the Tito-Cominform fight:

- Marshal Tito, in a four-hour interview with Konni Zilliacus, GUARDIAN correspondent and left-wing Labor M.P., asserted that he does not believe the Soviet Union will take military measures against his regime and that Yugoslavia will not join the Western bloc. A few days earlier Tito had told a group of Americans, including Louis Adamic, Dr. Kirtley Mather of Harvard, Dr. Jerome Davis and Dr. Henry Pratt Fairchild of New York University, that his differences with Moscow went back to 1944. Dr. Mather quoted him as saying he objected to "Stalin's program for the satellite countries" for the same reason he objected to the Marshall Plan.
- Moscow's **Pravda** forecast formation of a new Yugoslav Communist Party. The Soviet journal **New Times** charged that Yugoslavia and Royalist Greece have been conducting attacks on Albania that "obviously were engineered from one center."
- A report of the UN Special Committee on the Balkans said that Yugoslav aid to Greece "has diminished and may have ceased," while it reported that Albania and Bulgaria "have continued to give moral and material assistance to the Greek guerrilla movement." The Bulgarian Foreign Minister informed UN Secretary General Trygve Lie last week that 863 members of the Greek Democratic Army who had crossed over into Bulgaria had been immediately disarmed and interned.

### U. S. credits granted

- The U. S. granted a $20,000,000 credit to Yugoslavia through the Export-Import Bank. Bank officials said Yugoslavia would use the credit to buy mining equipment. The U. S., in turn, will get Yugoslav bauxite, mercury, copper, lead and zinc, all top-priority strategic materials.
- Pietro Nenni, Italian Socialist leader who recently returned from a trip to Moscow, told reporters that Russia would never intervene in Yugoslavia "at the point of a bayonet." He said: "Soviet proposals to Yugoslavia only offer the Yugoslav people the political elements with which to judge and condemn the policies of Tito."
- Tito received three members of a group representing the World Bank, which is investigating his application for a loan of $250,000,000.
- A Belgrade court forbade the sale and distribution of the Yugoslav weekly **Literary Gazette** for containing an offensive article. The article, describing the Yugoslav-Cominform fight in terms of a fable, indicated that Yugoslavia had threatened Russia. The court said this misinterpreted Yugoslav foreign policy.

**". . . and this, Hans, was the Jewish tailor on Schillerstrasse"**



**The New York Times reported on Sept. 7 that the mass graves of the murdered victims of the Nazis at the Dachau concentration camp were being dug up by a German contractor. The earth was to be sold commercially for pottery manufacture "because of the high clay content." This took place under the eyes of American Military Government. The revulsion was so immediate that AMG was moved to order the pathetic bones to be mercifully buried again and the shrieking hole covered.**

## GERMANY

### Parliament opens

IN the glass-walled white capitol building on the Rhine in Bonn, West Germany's newly elected parliament opened for business last week. A steady drizzle dampened the enthusiasm of the public which had been expected to watch the pretentious proceedings from temporary bleachers erected outside the glass walls.

Paul Loebe of Berlin, president of the Reichstag in pre-Hitler days, presided temporarily over the lower house until the election of Christian Democrat Dr. Erich Koehler as president. Loebe denounced the notorious enabling act of March, 1933, by which the Reichstag gave Hitler dictatorial powers, said those who voted against it were heroes. Communist leader Max Reimann asked caustically: "How many delegates here voted for it?" Nobody answered.

First act of the new parliament was to pass a resolution demanding the immediate end of the dismantling program.

### Exercise Harvest

BIGGEST U.S. military maneuvers in Europe since the end of the war began last week in Germany near the Russian Zone border. The enemy was an "aggressor" army, "representing the Communist states," aspiring to "overthrow the decadent democracies" (New York **Times**). Exercise Harvest, as the 12-day maneuvers were called, represented the first joint Army-Navy-Air Force games ever attempted. Maneuvering forces had everything except live ammunition.

## SPAIN

### Visitors in Madrid

THE U.S. Navy paid its first official call on Franco Spain last week. The visit of Admiral Richard L. Conolly, U.S. Naval commander in the Mediterranean and Eastern Atlantic, to Generalissimo Francisco Franco was interpreted as forecasting a definite role for Spain in the Atlantic alliance. Foreign ministers of Atlantic Pact nations are to meet in Washington this week.

**LUNCH:** Another visitor to the Catholic Spanish Caudillo was Moslem King Abdullah of Jordania who arrived aboard a British passenger-freight boat for an eleven-day sojourn. The king and dictator exchanged medals at a luncheon. Many at the luncheon expressed their shock at Britain's bad taste in failing to send Abdullah on a warship. Thoughtful Franco sent a Navy launch to rescue Abdullah outside the harbor.

Expected Sept. 25, at the invitation of Franco himself, is the U.S. House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, headed by Rep. James J. Murphy (D-Staten Island). Murphy said his committee will discuss a U.S. loan with the Spanish dictator and the recognition of Spain.

**NO LUNCH:** Unheralded was the visit to fascist Spain of the foreign minister of the Spanish Republic, Alvarez del Vayo. Del Vayo last week cabled the **Nation** of which he is now foreign editor, an account of a trip over the frontier into Spain where he was temporarily arrested by civil guards and narrowly escaped identification.

"The best description of Spain today," said Del Vayo, "was given me by a 23-year-old shepherd who was waiting for nightfall to cross the border into France. 'Spain," he said, 'is a hospital, a prison and a cemetery.'"

**KING ABDULLAH**
*Not even a single gunboat*

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## *Boom in the Ruhr*

# Western Europe goes begging as Germans get the gravy

**By Stanley Karnow**
BOCHUM, Germany

ONE night I slept in a Ruhr hotel which had been converted from an air-raid shelter under the site of the Duesseldorf synagogue, destroyed in the 1938 anti-Semitic riots. There was no view. In Essen I looked out upon a stretch of rubble in which two boys daily collected bricks.

Here in Bochum, as Western German politicians prepared to open their Bonn Parliament, all I could see from the window was factories—31 smoking chimneys, counted without stretching.

**WHAT IS CAPACITY?** Rubble hasn't all been cleared away, but the factories are working at almost their rate of ten years ago. The Potsdam agreement limited German steel production to 5,800,000 tons a year. The Western allies raised this to 11,000,000 tons. When the Germans complained that "capacity" must always be set at a million tons above actual production, Military Government experts obligingly raised the limit to 13,000,000 tons.

Now the cry is up again. "We can't produce 13,000,000 unless we have factories running at a capacity of 16,000,000. . . ."

Even if one can forget that this super-production harbors a war threat, there remains the fact that France is already suffering under an influx of German steel which undersells the French product, and that Belgian producers have fallen below their 1937 average for the first time.

**TAIL WAGS DOG:** Under a new Joint Export-Import Agency trade agreement, France must buy German coal, machinery and chemicals, supplying textiles and agricultural products in return. She loses $60,000,000 a year on the deal.

With Ruhr coal pegged under the Marshall Plan at nearly $2 a ton less than any other, France is talking about closing some of her mines. In Belgium, 2,000,000 tons lie unwanted at the pitheads. And Ruhr coal is being mined at a loss of upwards of $2,000,000 a year, which the American taxpayer makes up.

An Allied Control Commission member confided that if the ECA would let Western Europe choose its own coal sources, it would quickly substitute Poland, whose Silesian product is as cheap and good as the Ruhr fuel.

**PRODUCTION PLUS:** Ruhr industry, anticipating increased recartelization by American capital, is ringing up startling production figures even with abnormal living conditions. In May, coal output was 91% of 1936, mining of potash, iron ore and other minerals 127%; electrical equipment 173%, petroleum and byproducts 120%.

Even so, German politicians continue to blast at the British dismantling of war plants. The British, working against time and strong U.S. pressure, are putting the wrench to almost 200 factories. A factory foreman told me: "There's going to be another war, and the best thing the West can do is expand German industry for a quick switch to arms production." An office worker said: "Dismantling is just a sign of British fear of German competition; the U.S. shouldn't permit it."

While prewar German cartellists move back into control behind the International Ruhr Authority screen, big American corporations are ready to resume the cartel game the moment the Ruhr is reopened to investment.

**"POOR BRITISH":** Once again, powerful Germans are nursing feelings of superiority, and American "experts" are falling hard for the Rhine maiden's sly smile.

Symbolic was the attitude of a Military Government officer returning from a German political rally.

"Whew!" he said. "They were certainly hot tonight."

"Dismantling again?" I asked.

"Yes," he answered. "They threw the book at the poor British and French. It's a good thing Hoffman came out against dismantling last week; they let us off easy."

# The bitter-sweet W. C. Dunkinfield

By Sebastian Barr

WILLIAM CLAUDE DUNKINFIELD—better known as W. C. Fields—was one of the world's greatest clowns. If you doubt this, see some of his films, which are now being shown again. Recently I saw four of them in New York—"The Bank Dick," "My Little Chickadee," "You Can't Cheat An Honest Man" and "Never Give A Sucker An Even Break"—an I'm still waking up laughing.

At the same time, I've been reading the proof sheets of a book titled "W. C. Fields: His Follies and Fortunes," by Robert Lewis Taylor, to be published by Doubleday in early fall. In his personal life Fields was himself a great comic character such as Dickens might have created, and Mr. Taylor sheds a good deal of light on the man and the artist.

**REVENGE:** He mentions a revealing insight on the part of Gregory La Cava, who directed a number of Fields' pictures. "La Cava believes that Fields' personal and professional later life was dedicated to repaying society for the hurts of childhood. 'Nearly everything Bill tried to get into his movies was something that lashed out at the world,' he says. 'The peculiar thing is that although he thought he was being mean there wasn't real sting in it. It was only funny. Bill never really wanted to hurt anybody. He just felt an obligation.'"

One of Fields' characteristic gestures on the screen, whenever anybody turns on him suddenly or addresses him abruptly, is to shield his face with his arms, ready to ward off a blow or strike out in self-defense. You feel at once that he must have been slapped plenty when he was a child.

**FINN HAD IT EASY:** The son of a London cockney who emigrated to Philadelphia and became a fruit and vegetable huckster, Fields ran away when he was 10. From then on he was on his own, and for several years he led a vagabond's life that made Huckleberry Finn's carefree existence seem pure luxury. He froze, he starved, he stole, he was jailed, he raided free lunch counters, he slept on pool tables. He told an interviewer: "To this day, when I climb in bed between clean sheets, I smile."

W. C. FIELDS and FRIEND

Fields might have become an enemy of society, and in fact he did, and this is what contributes so much to the hilarity of his clowning. But there was another drive in him—to become an artist—and he sublimated his enmity in his art. When he was nine he had seen some jugglers perform in a vaudeville show. He taught himself how to juggle and he kept at it until he became not only good but "the greatest juggler on earth."

But he was not satisfied to remain a juggler. He wanted to be more than a dumb show. He had not had more than a few years of schooling; nevertheless, he became well read in the best of English literature. He would not rest until he became the foremost comedian on the stage, and he didn't rest then.

**KNIVES IN THE LAUGHS:** If there was a people's artist, that man was W. C. Fields At the school of hard knocks he had learned what it was to know frustration and to see life realistically. Later, in his films, he kept pulling the rug out from under everything that was fake and sentimental, pompous and fraudulent, until he had only to walk on the set in his silk hat and white gloves for you to see the biggest fraud in the world and to know that even when you were laughing at him you were laughing at yourself.

# Will diet do it?

By J. B. S. Haldane

LONDON

THREE professors of the University of Texas, using rats, have tried a biological approach to the problem of alcoholism. Rats are very useful animals for this kind of work; if they are given a choice of food containing some of the more necessary vitamins and food which lacks them, they will generally choose the former, even if the tastes are disguised with salt or sugar.

So a number of rats were given a choice of water or 10% alcohol to drink, and the amounts measured. The bottles from which they sucked their drink were changed round each day, so that there was a real choice. The rats differed enormously. Some were practically total abstainers. Others liked alcohol from the start. Still others gradually became terrific boozers.

By working on inbred stocks of rats, it was found that this propensity ran strongly in families. Some stocks were prone to alcoholism, others were not.

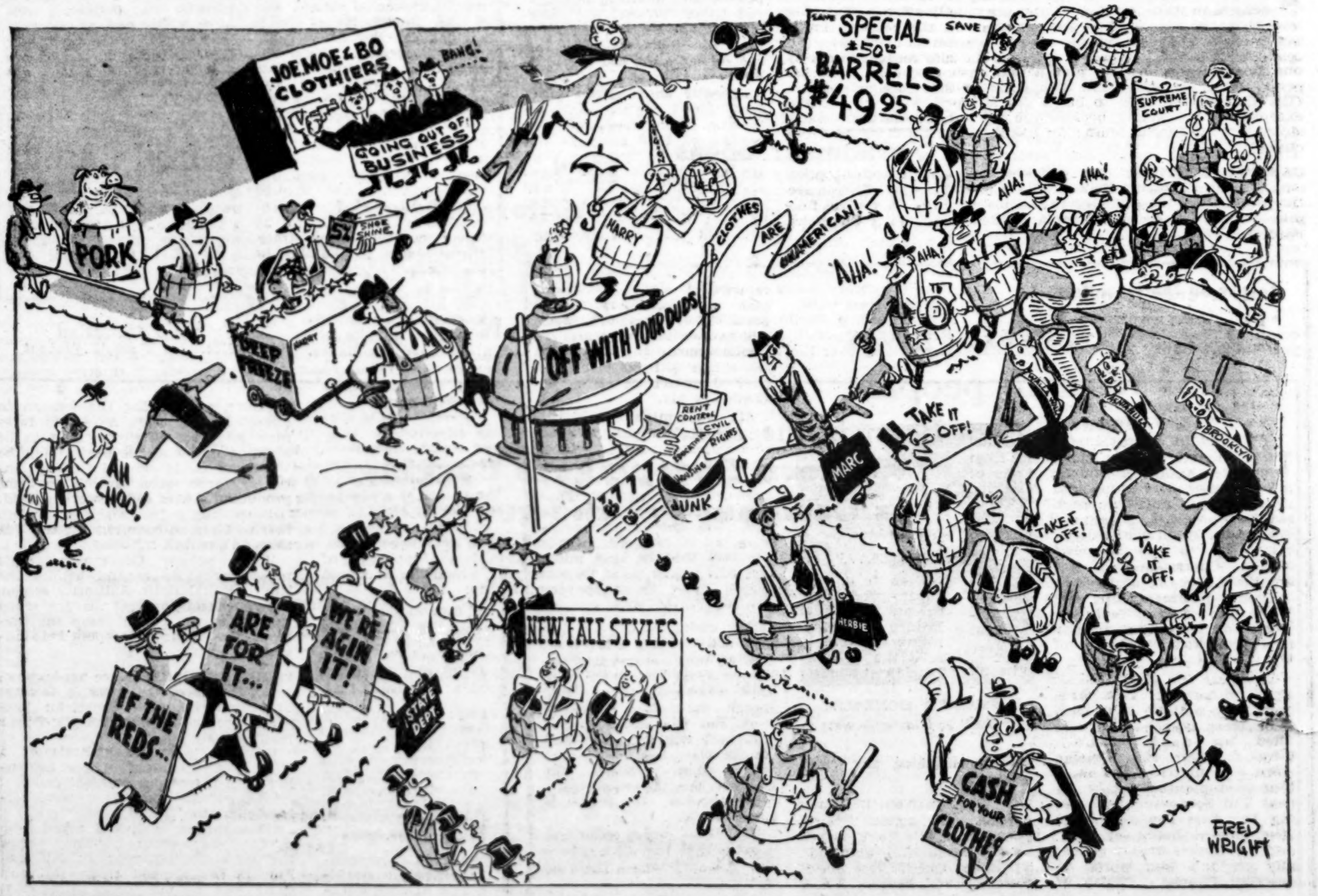
**VITAMINS BEFORE GIN:** If the professors had stopped there, they might have drawn the moral that the problem of alcoholism could only be solved on eugenic lines. But they determined to see whether even in a "depraved" stock of rats the tendency to alcoholism could be prevented.

They found that when some of their rats were given a large supplement of the various B vitamins they knocked off alcohol and went back to water. Others needed also a small amount of the vitamin which cures pernicious anemia before they'd quit the bottle. Still others, which did not respond to such treatment, cut down their alcohol intake when given extra vitamin A. Yet another lot reduced their consumption to one-seventh of its former intake when given linseed oil.

The conclusion reached was that the liking for alcohol in rats was generally a symptom of a deficiency in the diet. It was hereditary simply because some rats need a great deal more than others of a particular vitamin, and this is to some extent hereditary.

**NOW, ABOUT MEN:** Of course, we do not know how far this applies to men. Experiments are under way to determine this question. There is a complication because chronic alcoholism, among many other bad effects, interferes with the absorption of food, and may cause vitamin shortage even on what would otherwise be a sufficient diet.

But it does look likely that if we had a more varied diet, and more opportunities of choice, the craving for alcohol would at least be reduced.



**BULLETIN: Washington gets report that Soviet Politburo has come out in favor of clothes.**

# DOLLAR STRETCHER

### Values in men's shirts

AS with other cotton goods, men's shirts are less costly this fall—at least temporarily. If you know how and where, you can buy reasonably good shirts for $2 now.

Solid-color shirts always give more value than stripes and fancy patterns. Be a little skeptical of striped shirts at low price; examine the reverse side to see if the stripes are woven into the pattern, or merely printed. A printed fabric may be satisfactory if vat dyes were used; you can tell by the fact that the pattern shows up more clearly on the reverse side.

**NAMES DON'T COUNT:** For best values, shun the nationally-advertised brands. You can buy the same quality for 10 to 15% less under the private labels of the large retailers. The best sources for good buys are the J. C. Penney stores, the Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, Howard and Crawford chains, and some of the sales at the Bond stores.

Best wear generally comes from what the experts call a "balanced" fabric—one that has about the same number of threads crosswise as lengthwise. Poplin, chambray and percale are among such fabrics. Broadcloth is not as well balanced but is liked for its softness. Oxford is another sturdy and balanced fabric. It is not always a good choice unless cut really full.

There are four big points to check for quality: close weave (hold the shirt up to the light); firmness of material (pull it both ways); fullness of cut (also look for tucks in the back, preferably at the shoulder blades, and a series of tiny tucks at the cuffs): secureness of manufacture (look for small, close stitching, double stitching at shoulders and other points of strain, closely and evenly sewn buttonholes).

### Warning on satin

AS pointed out recently, taffeta and other stiff-fabric dresses will cost extra money this fall because they're being promoted as very fashionable.

Add satin to that list. Besides the extra charge for its "fashion rightness," satin is generally a poor-wearing fabric. It tends to snag. Crepe is another fabric on which you can lose money because of its tendency to shrink even in dry-cleaning. The smoother and flatter the fabric, the easier to wash or clean.

### Car price-cutting starts

AUTO trade authorities are expressing concern because some dealers in medium-bracket cars are quietly offering discounts now that the cream has been skimmed off the market. These discounts take various shapes: over-allowances on trade-ins, concessions on financing charges (such as the 25% rebate offered by one Los Angeles dealer) and actual cash discounts from list prices. Also, it's easier now to buy cars without the accessories. (It's always preferable to buy a car stripped, with the possible exception of the heater, because you can buy accessories at chain stores and mail-order houses for less than the car manufacturers charge).

**CAREFUL CUTTING:** But you won't see any important price cuts by manufacturers themselves for some time yet. They leave the preliminary price cutting to the dealers. Nor can you yet find price-cutting on the most popular models, particularly Chevrolet Ford and Plymouth.

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*Pots & pocketbooks*

## Ladies, beware!

By Charlotte Parks

THERE is a story of an Irish mother who was bawling out her son for his attitude toward a certain young colleen. Replied the son: " 'Twas mine to ask and hers to refuse." With this new season, take a vow to reject the wiles of food manufacturers' advertising, the groceryman, the subsidized Hints to Housewives.

**WATCH THE PACKAGE:** Don't, through carelessness, take home 12 ounces when you think you are getting a pound. A paper bag of rice or beans holding 16 ounces will give your family more nourishment than the prettiest package devised by huckster genius. If you pay 25 cents for a three-ounce can of salmon or liver paste, remember that you are paying at the rate of $1.56 per pound.

**FANCY 'MIXES':** All sorts of so-called "mixes" are being put on the market at fancy prices. Pies, biscuits, cakes, puddings.

"These "mixes" are extravagance. If you have skill enough to use them, you have brains enough to "roll your own." You have to add water, milk or eggs to all of them. Martha Washington knew all about "mixes" and so did your grandmother. A pie "mix" is simply flour and shortening. A biscuit "mix" means the addition of baking powder and less shortening. If you think "mixes" are time-savers, make your own, store them in tightly closed jars in the refrigerator, and use when wanted.

Recently there came stories from Israel saying that authorities there suggested that senders of food packages not send pudding "mixes". They are simply cornstarch, sugar and flavoring. You have to add your own milk. Buy a pound package of cornstarch for 10c and add your own flavoring.

## The American newsreel

# *Artful liar*

By C. A. Willis

EVERY now and again there is a lot of angry talk about misrepresentation in the newspapers and over the air. This is a little unfair. An honored place in the misrepresentation parade should be accorded to the movies, and in particular to the newsreel, seen by 85,000,000 Americans each week.

"The motion picture camera is an artful liar," says George Seldes. "Celluloid is flexible; it can be cut; scenes can be re-enacted to fit any script; sound tracks can be juggled; the pictures can show one event while the commentary describes another. . . . A survey of newsreels discloses abuses probably worse than that of the press and radio. . . . The newsreels are controlled by a tighter monopoly."

**DON'T LOOK NOW:** The earliest newsreel we have been able to uncover was flickering across Uncle Sam's bioscope screens in 1898. It was a sensational piece of work, with exclusive excerpts from the world famous Oberammergau Passion Play, and the suckers flocked to see it. In New York it was shown in a theater within sight of the roof-top where the "exclusive shots" had been staged.

The newsreel started young on its career of deceit, and it has never looked back.

Example: Progressive politician, addressing 10,000 enthusiastic citizens. Treatment: Close-up of the speaker, preferably taken from distorting angle which makes him look ridiculous. Follow with close-ups and medium shots of individuals registering anger, contempt indignation and cynical amusement, while the speaker's voice continues to be heard on the sound track (these scenes can be shot in the studio if you can't find anyone with the right expression at the meeting itself).

**BLACK IS WHITE:** By piecing shots together in this manner, by quoting individuals out of context, and—when all else fails—by providing the commentator with a lying commentary, you can prove black is white ten times out of ten. But that's only the start.

If a guy has a jerky walk, emphasize it with an appropriate musical rhythm, and you'll be sure to get a laugh.

**A LITTLE OFF KEY:** Another use of music was illustrated during the New York Peace Conference. The only shot of the meeting which reached the screen showed Soviet composer Shostakovich playing the piano in Madison Sq. Garden. Suitable adjustments to sound-track of this scene made the composer sound disastrously off key.

Perhaps the most scandalous recorded example of newsreel methods occurred during the 1934 San Francisco waterfront strike. The newsreel cameramen arrived at the scene of one pitched battle just after the fighting had finished, but it takes more than that to stop the camera turning. A tear-gas manufacturer obligingly sent down a few well-armed representatives, bombs were thrown, and a nice new riot started. The movie-men got some excellent action shots. One of the tear gas salesmen reported to his office: "I might mention that . . . I shot a long-range projectile into a group, a shell hitting one man and causing a fracture of the skull from which he has since died. As he was a Communist, I have no feeling in the matter, and I am sorry that I did not get more."

*Bigots on the baseline*

## Pancho Gonzales gives tennis back to people

Special to the GUARDIAN

FOREST HILLS, N.Y.

THE United States Lawn Tennis Assn., the West Side Tennis Club and the suburban station-wagon set fretted last year when Richard (Pancho) Gonzales banged his way to the National Singles Championship. For one thing, Pancho drank beer in his shirtsleeves. For another, he was unorthodox enough to have come from a poor Los Angeles family of Mexican origin.

RICHARD GONZALES

*Such bad taste to win*

This year the staid officials again discovered that base lines have nothing to do with color lines. Pancho Gonzales filled his dark-skinned, 6-foot-2 frame with fighting spirit and snatched the amateur championship again. He beat Ted Schroeder after losing the first two sets 16-18 (the longest finals set ever) and 2-6. Sports writers generally couldn't find words to describe Pancho's display of service, smashing and sharp volleying.

**NO ETIQUETTE:** Tennis bigwigs were aghast. Champions shouldn't have played hookey when they were kids. Their war records look better with officers' ratings, not a record of 16 months of scrubbing decks on Navy transports. They shouldn't wear odd clothes and hang around public courts, playing occasional sets with old pals. And they shouldn't be so young (Pancho's 21).

All this might hide the big complaint that National Champions shouldn't have skins that are too dark. After all, there are separate tourneys for black players. Thus Pancho's setbacks after he first won the championship were not ill-received. Despite the fact that he held grass, clay and indoor titles, he was seeded after Schroeder for the big Forest Hills tournament.

**HE HAD THE CROWD:** Pancho took some ragged decisions from the umpires in that overwhelming final match—more than Schroeder took. But the 13,000 spectators were with the youngster all the way; the louder they voiced their protests, the tougher the linesmen got—with Pancho. He made it nevertheless.

Now the tennis elite are praying that Pancho will turn pro. It would relieve them no end.

**NATIONAL GUARDIAN had only 5,000 subscribers when we went to press with our first issue last Oct. 18. When we were only a week old we printed the first story in any publication outside New Jersey about the Trenton Six. That story brought about a nationwide mobilization to win justice for these six framed Negroes.**

**Five thousand GUARDIAN readers did that! Can you imagine the effectiveness of a GUARDIAN with a million readers? Do you realize how swiftly the GUARDIAN could have a million readers with your personal help?**

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## *II. A city fights for its life*

# The people ask: Will the U.S. let Harvester bury Auburn?

By Lawrence Emery

AUBURN, N. Y.

There IS a Santa Claus: Every year the Auburn local of the Farm Equipment Union throws a Christmas party for its own kids and rings in the youngsters from the Cayuga County Home for Children.

WHEN a group of early settlers met in 1803 to choose a better name than Hardenburgh's Corners for their community, it was an Irishman who remembered Oliver Goldsmith's "Deserted Village" near the River Shannon: "Sweet Auburn! Loveliest village of the plain. . . ." So Hardenburgh's Corners became Auburn, N.Y., and the Irishman may have been an unwitting prophet. Of the Irish Auburn, Goldsmith had written:

> *"Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,*
> *Where wealth accumulates and men decay."*

**FULFILLMENT:** Much wealth has accumulated in Auburn, N.Y.—for 46 years the International Harvester Co. has operated a highly profitable plant there—and today it is prey to a hastening ill that would make it a ghost town. International Harvester, because it has acquired at bargain rates from the government four modern war plants built elsewhere with taxpayers' money, has announced that it will permanently close down the Auburn plant by November, 1950.

Since the announcement last June a creeping fear has engulfed this city of 36,000. Hundreds of Harvester's 1,800 employes have worked there 20 years or more; many have put in a lifetime. Nearly a third of the employes are over 50, more than half own their own homes. With their families they constitute one-fifth of the town's population. Closing the plant would be more than an economic disaster; its human casualties could be equalled only in an act of war.

**LAWTON'S STORY:** Pick a Harvester worker at random and you will find one whose plight will match Charles Lawton's. Born in Auburn, married to an Auburn girl, and father now of eight children, he has worked for Harvester 15 years. Several years ago he lost four fingers from his left hand in the Shear and Punch Department. He went back to work as a stock chaser at a lower wage. During the war, through the intercession of the plant chemist, he was promoted to heat treater at better pay.

A year ago Lawton went to the nearby village of Cayuga and bought a home with a sizable mortgage. He was past 40 and it was time to settle down for good.

The future now? Nothing. Just a dismal blank. He faces loss of his house and his life savings. With his disability and his age, new job prospects are bleak. His story in its essentials can be multiplied 1,800 times.

**WHOSE OBLIGATION?** Leaders of Auburn Local 180 of the United Farm Equipment and Metal Workers of America, CIO, counter Harvester's argument that its action was dictated by "stubborn economic factors beyond the control of the company." The company, they say, "has deep social and moral obligations to its workers and the entire community."

### Says who?

INTERNATIONAL Harvester, in announcing abandonment of its Auburn, N.Y., plant, argued that New York state is not a good location for a farm equipment plant. BUT—

Of all the 48 states, New York in 1948 was 12th in farm cash income; in 1949 it was 11th in the number of tractors on farms; in 1945 it was 6th in the value of farm equipment owned by farmers; it is 8th in total dollar volume of farm equipment produced.

The state is the center of a $200,000,000 annual market for farm equipment.

**SOME LACK FIGHT:** Dr. Frank L. De Furio, chairman of the Citizen's Committee to Save Auburn, puts it this way: "If Harvester hadn't received war plants from the government, they would stay here. The government should move in and say, look here, we gave you those plants, but you have no right to use them to disrupt a whole community."

As though frightened by his own boldness, he adds: "This may sound like socialism, but. . . ." Then he confesses that he has little hope of saving the plant. "The outlook," he says, "is bleak. There is no ray of brightness."

Many in the town are blighted by this sense of hopelessness, but not the union men.

**NO BIGGER THAN U.S.A.:** Mike Baroody, 35, president of Local 180, tough, smart and self-assured, says: "International Harvester is not bigger than the people of the U.S.A. They only think they are."

Harvester hasn't seemed invincible to the union men since they organized it in 1944. For 40 years before there was a conviction that it couldn't be done. The Columbian Rope Co., second largest in the country, owned by the local Metcalf family, had set the pattern for anti-unionism in the town.

Columbian was founded in 1903, the same year that Harvester moved in and swallowed up three farm equipment plants founded in 1858 by the local Osborne family. Manned by a working staff recruited by labor agents from Italy and old Russia, the rope company fought off organization so well that after 16 years the AFL gave up.

In a 1913 strike, four employes, one of them a 17-year-old girl, were shot down by Auburn police, and two companies of the National Guard were brought in.

**ONE MOVE LICKED:** In the same year a strike occurred at the Harvester Twine Mill. Harvester countered by announcing the mill would be moved to Germany, and dismantling was begun. A young Auburn lawyer, John Taber, (now Congressman Taber) headed a Citizens Committee opposing the move. New York's Governor Sulzer intervened and the plan to move the plant was abandoned.

That's one reason for unionists' present confidence: "It's been done before," they say.

In December, 1943, the first CIO organizer hit Auburn. He was Neil Eastman, who is still an international representative of FE. He was told it couldn't be done, and a local banker gave him a friendly warning to leave town. By February Harvester had cracked; by July Columbian Rope collapsed. Within eight months most of thc town was organized.

**NO EASY FORGETTING:** But Columbian Rope has never forgotten, never forgiven. Today the Metcalf family is eager to see Harvester leave; with 1,800 workers stranded, Columbian Rope thinks it can quickly break the union.

And so Auburn is split on an issue which normally would put everybody on one side—if only for narrow self-interest. The Metcalf family is powerful; it not only controls Columbian Rope, but the National Bank of Auburn as well. Since his election, Mayor Edward T. Boyle has become a director of the bank.

Metcalf influence spreads in many directions, goes deep. Many citizens fear the effects of the Harvester plant removal, but they fear more the consequences of opposing it. One substantial citizen, who asked that his name not be used, said: "No matter what happens, some of us are going to have to keep on living here."

**HUSH-HUSH:** Another, head of an important trade association, whispered to a union representative: "Keep it under your hat, but my organization is going to give your Citizens Committee a contribution. I don't want my name used."

A third, encountered on the street, looked both ways before he would talk. "I know the politics of this town," he said. "Your throats are being cut. Important people are selling you out." He himself had much to lose if the Harvester plant closed, but he was not prepared to stand up and fight it publicly.

Even the alternative to Harvester's moving—bringing in a new industry—is frowned upon by the old settlers, the landed gentry and the local aristocrats. When he took office last December as president of the Chamber of Commerce, Wallace P. Beardsley said in reference to new industries: "We should be mindful that a small expansion in our present diversified plants can mean just as much to the community as an entirely new business, and might be less disrupting."

**UNION NOT AFRAID:** But the union is not afraid either of Harvester or Columbian Rope: it has whipped them both before. Local 180 assessed each of its members $3 for a fund with which it plans to advertise Auburn's plight in Albany and Washington newspapers to bring it to the attention of state and federal government officials. It is appealing to the entire labor movement for support, and is getting it.

The conventions of the New York State AFL and CIO have both adopted identical resolutions calling upon Congress to investigate International Harvester "to determine the feasibility of rescinding all sales of war surplus plants" until a guarantee is obtained that "such plants will not be used to threaten the economic life of Auburn or any other community in our nation."

John Taber, for 26 years a Republican Congressman, lives in Auburn and, as he did once before, is opposing the Harvester move. He has demanded of the War Assets Administration all details of Harvester's acquisition of war plants and has told union leaders he will demand a congressional investigation, or will take what other steps are open to him.

**THE BIG QUESTION:** The question before Auburn is one for the whole U.S. to answer: Can the government, through the low-cost sale of publicly built war plants, be a partner to a decision by a powerful monopoly to doom an entire community to economic disaster?

"Tough, smart, self-assured. . . ." Four leaders of Pioneer Local 180, Farm Equipment Union, spa[illegible]ing the fight for Auburn's life. Standing is Mike Baroody, local president. The others (l to r): Peter Aversa, district president, Frank Pelc, recording secretary, Fred Hogan, grievance committee chairman. Like all Local 180 officers, these men work a full day in the plant.

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